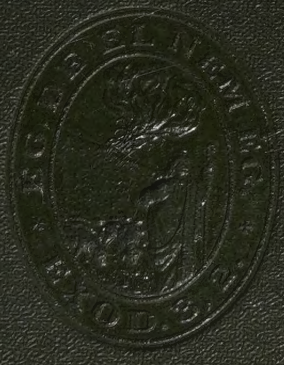
HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM



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CHURCH-HISTORICAL MAP OF HUNGARY

The territory inclosed by the **thick broken line** represents **present-day Hungary.**

HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM:

ITS PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

BY

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Hungary. Church History
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PREFACE.

Since the end of the War our brethren abroad have shown an ever growing interest in the Evangelical Churches of Hungary which, with the dismemberment of our country, have lost nearly the half of their members and congregations. It is more and more clear to our brethren abroad that it can be no matter of indifference to World Protestantism what kind of fate awaits the Eastern Bastions of Protestantism, those Evangelical Churches which, through the storms of centuries, have stood fast whilst around them the Protestantism of Austria, Bohemia, Poland was almost entirely extinguished. Three of us have taken upon ourselves the task of showing to our brethren abroad the Past, the Present and the Future of Hungarian Protestantism which has struggled with the storms of centuries, and now lies bowed and suffering under the burden of a cross.

We owe our thanks for the difficult work of translation to the Rev. Professors John *Victor* Ph. D., and Alex. *Máthé* Ph. D.,: the former has translated the first and third, and the latter the second part of the book. We sincerely thank the Rev. William *Beveridge*, M. A., the Senior Minister of the Budapest Scottish Mission, for his help in revising the translation and in doing the greatest part of the difficult work of the revision of the proof-sheets: without his kind and untiring assistance we scarcely had been able to publish this book. We express our thanks similarly to Zsolt *Benedek* LL. D., the Chief-secretary of the

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General Conventus of the Hungarian Reformed Church, to the Rev. Desiderius *Kuthy*, the Chief-secretary of the Hungarian Lutheran Church and to the Rev. Nicholas *Józan*, the Vicar-general of the Hungarian Unitarian Church who obligingly offered their help to compile the data concerning the present situation of the Reformed, Lutheran and Unitarian Churches. Lastly, but not least, we owe our thanks to the Bethlen Gábor Literary and Printing House Co. Ltd. which took up the task of printing and publishing this book. To print a book in a language which is not understood by any of the employees of the Printing House is doubtless a most difficult task. We must therefore ask our readers to show consideration, if they happen to find more misprints here and there than usual.

We wish to expose sincerely the weaknesses of our Evangelical Churches besides their merits: the shadow also that goes along with the light. We do not want to excuse anything: we wish to do service to justice, that justice which may hang on the cross for a time, but which will surely have its resurrection through the Lord of all Justice. In this sure faith we send out our work in the name and for the glory of the Eternal God.

Budapest, Christmas, 1927.

THE AUTHORS.

CONTENTS.

I.

HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM IN THE PAST.

Page

I. The Historical Development of Hungarian Protestantism 1
1. Mediaeval Hungarian Christianity 1
2. The Reformation in Hungary 2
3. The Churches of the Reformation in Hungary 3
a) The Lutheran and „Helvetic" Churches 3
b) Unitarianism 6
4. Hungarian Protestant Thought and Character 8

II. Protestantism in the Life of Hungary 10
1. National life and politics 10
2. Education 12
3. Literature 14
4. General prosperity 18

III. The Historic Struggles of Hungarian Protestantism and the Assistance given in these by Foreign Protestantism 22
1. The period of the Thirty Years' War 22
2. Evangelical Internationalism 24
3. Material succour 26
4. Diplomatic aid during the last two centuries 28

Page

IV. Spiritual Contacts between Hungarian and Foreign Protestantism 34
1. Hungarian students abroad 34
2. Currents in Theology 37
a) Anti-Scholasticism 37
b) Englightenment 38
c) Latest developments 40
3. Movements of Practical Piety 43
a) Sectarian Movements 43
b) Puritanism and Pietism 44
c) The Revival of recent years 47
d) Foreign contacts during recent years and their significance 48
4. The Mission to Bohemia and Moravia 49

V. Hungarian Protestantism and Evangelical Catholicity 51
1. Relation between the Protestant Churches 51
2. Protestants and Roman Catholics 56
3. Protestant Evangelization in the Greek Orthodox Roumanian Church 58
4. Hungarian Protestantism and Foreign Missions 61

II.

HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM TODAY.

Hungarian Protestantism today 65

I. The Constitution of the Hungarian Protestant Churches 68
1. The Constitution of the Hungarian Reformed Church . . 78
a) Church Organisation. The corporate organs of the Reformed Church 81
b) The Chief Church Officials. Individual Functionaries in the Reformed Church 87

Page

c) Some peculiarities of the Church Constitution of Transylvania 94
d) Church Law Courts in the Hungarian Reformed Church 95
e) Incomes and church taxation in the Hungarian Reformed Church 98
f) The next tasks and problems for Reformed Church Legislation 103
2. The Constitution of the Hungarian Lutheran Church . . 107
a) Church organisation. The corporate bodies of the Lutheran Church 108
b) The chief Church officials. Individual functionaries in the Lutheran Church 113
c) The Synod 115
d) Jurisdiction in the Lutheran Church 116
e) Incomes and church taxation in the Hungarian Lutheran Church 119
f) The next tasks and problems for the Lutheran Church Legislation 122
3. The Unitarian Church 123
a) The constution of the Unitarian Church 124
b) The chief church officials 126
c) Church jurisdiction in the Unitarian Church 127
4. The Minor Protestant Denominations 128

II. Interconfessional Relations of the Hungarian Churches 131
1. The relation between the Reformed and Lutheran Churches 131
2. The regulation of the interconfessional relations in Hungary 133
a) The question of conversions 133
b) The question of the religion of children born in mixed marriages 135

Page

III. The Position of the Protestant Schools and Education in Hungary 139
a) A historical sketch and the relation of the Protestant Schools to the State 139
b) Statical data about the Protestant Shools of Hungary 144
c) The administration of the Protestant Schools . . . 152
d) Our tasks and problems in church education . . . 154

IV. The more Important Statistical data of the Hungarian Protestant Churches 158

V. Church Life in the Hungarian Protestant Churches 167
1. Congregational Life 169
a) Church Services on Sundays and Festivals 169
b) Church Services on Week Days 172
c) Sacramental Services 173
d) Various ceremonies in the Protestant Churches . . . 174
2. Activites for building up the Life of the Church . . . 176
a) Activities for building up their life common to the Protestant Churches 177
b) Similar activities in the different Protestant Churches 178
3. Charitable and Social Institutions 180
4. The Church Press 182
5. Our Tasks and Problems for the Further Development of Church Life 186

III.

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND THE FUTURE OF HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM.

Hungary's mission in history 193
The significance of Hungarian Protestantism 194
The significance of Protestantism for Hungary's history . . 196
Protestantism and the Modern State 198

Page

The ecclesiastical aspect of Hungarian Protestantism . . . 200
The public character of the Churches 201
The central idea of church-politics 202
The Churches' inner life. The Reformation. Orthodoxy. Rationalism 203
The revival in the Churches 204
„Danubian" and „Tisanian" Calvinism. 207
The Churches and Politics. The political mission of Protestantism 209
Hungarian Protestant Theology. 210
Efforts after Union 211
Church-Finances 213
Hungarian Protestantism and the Peace Treaty 216

Bibliography 219
a) In English 219
b) In Latin 220
c) In French 220
d) In German 221
e) In Dutch 222
f) In Swedish 222

Corrigenda 223

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page
Stephen Kis of Szeged, Pioneer of the Hungarian Reformation	5
Emeric Thököly, leader of national uprising	11
Albert Szenczi Molnár	16
Front-page of Psalter of Albert Szenczi Molnár	17
John Arany, greatest epic poet of Hungary	18
Maurice Jókai, novelist	19
Alexander Petőfi, greatest lyric poet of Hungary	19
Stephen Bocskay, prince of Transylvania	22
Gabriel Bethlen, prince of Transylvania	23
George Rákóczy I., prince of Transylvania	24
Michael Apaffi, the last prince of Transylvania	25
Torturing of a Protestant minister	26
Protestant ministers imprisoned	27
Protestant ministers sold as galley-slaves	28
Admiral Michael de Ruyter	29
Memorial of the galley-slaves in Debrecen	29
Louis Kossuth	30
Paul Török, ref. superintendent	31
Joseph Székács, Lutheran superintendent	32
Emeric Révész, leader in the Patent-fight	33
Suzanne Lórántffy, wife of George Rákóczy I.	46
Prince Francis Rákóczy II.	57
Edmund Beőthy, Roman Catholic champion of Protestant rights	65
Baron Antony Baldácsy, Roman Cath. donor to Hungarian Protestantism	66
Reformed secondary Boys school of Csurgó, founded by the Roman Cath. Count Festetich	67

Page

Building of the Reformed General Conventus and Synod . . . 85
Central building of the Lutheran Church 112
Desiderius Szilágyi, leading liberal statesman 137
Reformed College of Sárospatak 140
Reformed College of Pápa 141
Reformed College of Debrecen 142
Reformed secondary Boys school of Debrecen 144
Reformed College of Kecskemét 145
Lutheran secondary Boys school of Budapest 145
Lutheran secondary Boys school of Békéscsaba 146
Lutheran secondary Girls school and internate of Kőszeg . . . 146
Girls school of the Scottish Mission of Budapest 147
Lutheran Girls school of Aszód 148
Lutheran Girls school at Budapest 148
Students' convictus at Sárospatak 149
Reformed Training College for Lady teachers at Pápa 149
Lutheran teachers training-college of Sopron 150
Reformed College of law at Kecskemét 150
Reformed Theological College of Budapest 151
Luther Home for students, Budapest 155
Reformed Theological College of Kolozsvár (now in Roumania) 160
Reformed secondary Boys school of Kolozsvár (now in R.) . . 160
Reformed secondary Boys school of Marosvásárhely (now in R.) 161
Reformed College of Nagyenyed (now in R.) 161
Reformed secondary Boys school of Sepsiszentgyörgy (now in R.) 162
Reformed secondary Boys school of Székelyudvarhely (now in R.) 162
Reformed secondary Boys school of Szászváros (now in R.) . . 163
Reformed secondary Boys school of Zilah (now in R.) 163
Reformed secondary Boys school of Máramarossziget (now in R.) 164
Reformed secondary Boys school of Szatmárnémeti (now in R.) 164
Reformed secondary Girls school of Nagyvárad (now in R.) . . 165
Reformed ladies' high school of Szatmárnémeti (now in R.) . . 165
United Protestant secondary Boys school of Rimaszombat (now in Czechoslovakia) 166

Page

Lutheran College of Eperjes (now in Cz.) 168
Dormitory of Lutheran Theological College of Eperjes (now in Cz.) 168
Lutheran Theological College of Pozsony (now in Cz.) 169
Lutheran secondary Boys school of Pozsony (now in Cz.) . . . 170
Unitarian College of Kolozsvár (now in Roumania) 170
Reformed Church on Calvin Square, Budapest 171
Reformed Central-church, Debrecen 172
The only Croatian Reformed Church, Tordince 172
Interior of a Reformed rural church with the communion table . 174
Bible Class among the blind 178
S. D. G. Students' Conference in camp at Zánka 179
S. D. G. Secondary pupils' Conference at Kápolnásnyék . . . 179
Filadelfia Deaconesses' Home, Budapest 180
Protestant Orphans' Home, Budapest 181
Protestant Children's Home at Dunaalmás 181
Reformed Infirmary „Bethesda", Budapest 182
„Boys Kálvineum" at Hajdúböszörmény for Reformed ministers' orphans 183
„Girls Kálvineum" at Nyiregyháza for Reformed ministers' orphans 185
Hungarian Delegates leaving St. Peter's Cathedral, Geneva, after Hungarian Service, 1909. July 4. 187
Relief of Mr. and Mrs. Claparède on the wall of the Ref. Theological College, Budapest 189
Members of the Conference of the Presbyterian Alliance, Eastern Section, Budapest, 1911. 195
Hungarian Delegates at the Synod of the Presbyterian Alliance, Cardiff 1925. 199
Delegates of the Conference of the Presbyterian Alliance, Eastern Section, Budapest, 1927. 205
Delegates of the Presb. Conference in the Park of Balatonfüred around map of dismembered Hungary made of flowers . . 217

I.

HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM IN THE PAST

by

REV. EMERIC RÉVÉSZ, PH. D.

I.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM.

(1. Mediaeval Hungarian Christianity. — 2. The Reformation in Hungary. — 3. The Churches of the Reformation in Hungary: *a)* the Lutheran and „Helvetic" Churches, *b)* Unitarianism. — 4. Hungarian Protestant Thought and Character.)

1. Mediaeval Hungarian Christianity.

The Christian religion and the Hungarian soul were introduced to one another by the first Hungarian King, Stephen I. (Saint Stephen), the first Hungarian with a really European outlook upon life, about the end of the Xth and the beginning of the XIth centuries. From this time on throughout the Middle Ages Hungarians took a vivid part in the spiritual life and in all movements of European Christianity, more especially of the Roman Catholic Church. The legendary and ideal figures of the first great Christian royal heroes and saints (Saint Stephen, Saint Emeric, Saint László, Blessed Margaret) took shape under the inspiration of the Western European Christian ideals of royalty, knighthood and monasticism. It was under the spell of the same ideals that Hungarians paid their toll of blood for the Holy Sepulchre in a special crusade of their own (1217—1218). The XIIIth century saw the rise of a special Hungarian monastic order, that of the „Hermits of St. Paul", very strict in their rules and very popular throughout the centuries. About the middle of the XIIIth century a cardinal of Hungarian nationality is already found sitting in the papal council, — Stephen Bancsa, formerly archbishop of Esztergom. The famous mediaeval seats of learning, especially those within easier reach for Hungarians (Paris, Bologna, Padua, Vienna, Prague, Cracow), were visited by constant and numerous streams of Hungarian youth, practically from the time of their foundation. The university of Padua e. g., founded in 1222, entertained 205 Hungarian students during the first three centuries of its existence. The earnestness and vigour which characterized the mediaeval Hungarian Catholics in the observance of their religious and ecclesiastical duties, e. g. the keeping of fasts, were renowned all over Europe. About the end of the XIVth century we find already a strict prevalence of the Hungarian custom of extending the weekly fast from Friday to Saturday. And the first known survivals of ancient Hungarian poetry are resonant with the simple and pathetic notes of characteristic mediaeval Catholic piety. A Hungarian song written in 1508, i. e. at

the time when Hungary was already hard pressed by the Turks, magnifies „the Redeemer of the Dead, Vanquisher of the Turks, Good Councillor of Kings, Shield of the Hungarians", referring not to Christ, — but to the Virgin Mary.

2. The Reformation in Hungary.

All the well known symptoms of mediaeval religious and ecclesiastical decay became manifest also in the life of Hungarian Catholicism. High positions of the clergy were a prey of unworthy occupants; at the end of the XVth century e. g. the seat of the Primate-Archbishop of Esztergom was given to a child of 7 years (Hippolyte d'Este) and during the first years of the Reformation the same seat was occupied by a person who took holy orders only after obtaining the archbishopric (László Szalkai). While the high dignitaries of the Church lived in luxury and abundance, the immensely increased number of parish priests suffered misery and in order to make a living, resorted in many cases to running inns or practising usury. Friars of the mendicant orders were frequently caught in theft.

The mediaeval sectarian novements springing up as a reaction to such general evils in Church-life found a fertile soil also in Hungary. The sect of the „Cathari" spread out mainly among the Southern-Slavic people living then under the Hungarian Crown. The Waldensians also found a following in Hungary proper, although mostly among the colonies of German burghers. Still greater was the influence of the Hussite novement, mainly among the Slovak population of Northern Hungary, in close neighbourhood and racially related to the people of Bohemia, — but also in the midst of the pure Hungarian population, especially in the Southern and Southeastern parts (Transylvania). The oldest Hungarian translation of the Bible is the work of two priests, Thomas and Valentine, converted to Hussitism.

While these movements prepared the way of the Reformation in the ranks of the common people, the spread of the humanistic spirit did the same among the aristocrats and the cultured middle-class. As a consequence, the ideas and the teachings of the Reformation spread rapidly over the whole of Hungary, within a few years after Luther's appearance on the stage. No vigorous and effective resistance was to be met with on the part either of the Roman church in power or of the political factor, since the powers of both were paralysed for decades by the national catastrophe of 1526, — the disastrous defeat of the Hungarian forces by Sultan Suleiman II. on the field of Mohács, — and the consequent occupation of the larger part of the country by the Turks during the next decade and a half, deliverance from which yoke was obtained only about 150 years later. Under the weight of these tribulations a thirst after the living God broke forth from the suffering Hungarian soul with elementary strength, and nothing could quench it but the pure preaching of the Gospel.

This explains how within half a century after Luther's rise all classes of the Hungarian nation were permeated with and won for the two main schools of the Reformation, the Lutheran and the Swiss with their various theological shades (e. g. Flaccianism with its sombre exaggeration of the utter corruption of fallen man), as also several offshoots of the Reformation, like the Anabaptist movement which had a hold for some time especially in Northern Hungary, and Antitrinitarianism, of which more will have to be said below. During the above mentioned half century and a quarter more the followers of those movements which were of lasting value, organized themselves into communites and by the end of the first decade of the XVIIth. century these groups had definitely separated themselves both from the Roman Church and from one another, through which process the establishment of the Reformation in Hungary became an accomplished fact.

3. The Churches of the Reformation in Hungary.

(a) The Lutheran and „Helvetic" Churches.

The teachings of Luther and Melanchthon excited their strongest influence among the German burgher colonies of Hungary, situated in larger numbers in the Northern and in the Transylvanian parts, and it was among these that they gave rise to virile church organizations. Their sway extended also over a large part of the Slovak villagers living within the sphere of influence of such German towns. In the ranks of the pure Hungarian population their success was not so undisputed. Already the first really Hungarian reformers, — of whom only the heroic Mathias Biró de Déva and the fascinating author of hymns and popular dramas, Michael Sztárai, shall be mentioned, (the former especially active in the thirties, the latter in the forties and fifties of the XVIth. century), — although followers of Luther, had nevertheless shown themselves partly susceptible to the teachings of the Swiss Reformation. Among the pure Hungarians very soon we meet with the same interesting type of eclecticism in the matter of reformation teaching, which is also in evidence in the English Reformation of the same time. As time passed on it became more and more clear that between the rival schools of the Reformation the Hungarian soul gave definite preference to that of Zwingli, rather than to that of Bullinger, and ultimately to the rapidly spreading teachings of Calvin. This change was greatly enchanced by the circumstance that the University of Wittenberg, to which Hungarian students flocked in the largest numbers, had taught, for several decades, under the influence of Melanchthon's mediating spirit, which was by far not so rigid in its attitude towards the Swiss school and especially towards Calvin, as „Orthodox" Lutheranism became in its crystallised form in the „Formula Concordiae". Still more influential was another circumstance, viz. that a serious gulf of political difference

came to open between the Lutheran Germans of Hungary and the pure Hungarian element. The former — and that both in the Northern districts and in Transylvania, — identified themselves, out of racial sympathies, with the cause of the Habsburg dynasty, thus securing for themselves for some time at least freedom from any relentless religious persecution on its part. The pure Hungarians on the other hand, at least in their bulk, stood for the ideals of an independent national state life, regarded the Habsburgs as natural enemies of these ideals and looked for support against them in the conquering Turkish power and in the Transylvanian principality which came into being as a suzerain state under the Turk. This conflict of political tendencies gave rise to racial antagonism and excited its influence also in religious matters. Lutheranism came to be regarded by the pure Hungarians more and more as a „German religion" and the teachings of the Swiss Reformation, especially its Bullinger-Calvin School, were embraced in contrast with the former as the „Hungarian religion".

As a consequence no churches „holding the Augsburg-Confession", i. e. no Lutheran churches were permanently founded among the pure Hungarian population, except in the Western districts (to the west of the Danube, approximately identical with the old Roman province of Pannonia), where the Hungarians lived intermingled to a larger measure with German and Slavic elements embracing the Lutheran teaching, and where throughout the whole period of Turkish occupation Hungarian territory remained to be governed by the Habsburg Kings. But even the Hungarians of these Western parts did not accept Lutheranism in their entirety; under the influence of the Bullinger-Calvin School even here a separate „Reformed Church" was organized, out of pure Hungarian elements, by the end of the XVIth. century, not without violent dispute among the brethren. In all other parts of the country inhabited by the Hungarian element, i. e. in the vast plains along the Danube and the Tisza, in which the Turkish conqueror held sway, and in the Northern and South—Eastern mountain-districts, which were ruled most of the time by the suzerain princes of Transylvania, churches were organized everywhere among the Hungarian population on the basis of Bullinger's and Calvin's teaching, calling themselves by preference after the „Helvetic Confession" or simply „Reformed", in later times also „Calvinists".

The most prominent workers in calling these Reformed churches into being and organizing them were the following: *Martin Sánta of Kálmáncseh,* formerly canon in the Roman Catholic Church, a popular speaker of great originality; *Gál Huszár,* an untiring travelling printer and preacher; *Stephen Kis of Szeged,* a confessor of magnificent courage and a learned theologian of the first rank; and lastly the highly gifted and ardently devoted church organizer and controversialist, *Peter (Juhász) Melius,* minister of Debrecen and bishop, (the two latter died in 1572). It was due especially to the

exertions of the last named that from the sixties onward the Hungarian Reformed Church became a separate entity both in doctrine and in organization. As a standard of doctrine and norm of religious education the Second Helvetic Confession and the Heidelberg-Catechihm came to be accepted. And it was mainly through these documents that the spirit of the Swiss Reformation cast its spell over the Hungarian soul and shaped it through all the centuries. In the atmosphere of this spirit the fundamental quality of the Hungarian soul found its full development and sanctification, — that natural bent for practical morality, especially its capacity for obedience in manly freedom, which it had brought with it from the distant steppes of the Volga. To sentimental and mystic religious experience and to speculative searchings of the divine secrets the Hungarian mind, in the average, was much less addicted than that of the Nordic or the Latin or the Slavic races. But the simplest Hungarian was able to bow in true reverence before the sovereign majesty of God, to open his heart with obedient surrender before His glory as manifested in its fullness in Jesus Christ'and to fling himself courageously and with enthusiasm into the fight for the realization of this glory, — into the struggle for his own and the world's sanctification. This correspondence between the fundamental features of Calvinistic piety and the natural dispositions of the Hungarian soul proved to be a fact the beneficent influences of which upon the spiritual development of the whole nation are observable to this day.

Stephen Kis of Szeged
Pioneer of the Hungarian Reformation.

Apart from this central inspiration, however, the development of the Hungarian Reformed Church shows no closer connection with the characteristic ideals and demands of Calvin and his fellow-reformers. Thus, e. g. two of the most powerful formative factors of the Calvinistic Reformation, its form of worship and its form of government, were never transplanted by the Hungarian reformers into the soil of their Church, at least not their original and pure Genevan, respectively Huguenot—Scottish—Dutch type. For a considerable length of time, their form of worship retained certain elements characteristic of the Roman Catholic cult (such as antiphons, passion-songs), although naturally by far not so much as in

the form of worship of the Lutheran brethren. The form of government on the other hand took a development essentially on identical lines with the Lutheran Church, in spite of the complete separation in doctrine and organization: on the whole the consistorial-superintendential system prevalent in Germany was copied (with the difference of the entire absence of the „Summus Episcopatus" of the rulers as established in the Churches of Germany). The local congregations were governed by the ministers in concurrence with the landlords in the villages and the magistrates in the towns; as superior authorities there were established „Seniorates" or „Decanates" with „Seniors" or „Deans" (esperes) at their head, and out of groups of these (according to geographical coherence or on the basis of political units or former Roman Catholic dioceses) „Superintendencies" with „Superintendents" at their head, who were called also „Bishops" from the earliest times. It was only much later, in the second quarter of the XVIIth. century, that the institution of elders, presbyters after the Geneva model, began to win its way into this oldest system of Protestant church-government in Hungary, (naturally first in the Reformed Church) gradually and through protracted struggles, under influences coming first from the Palatinate and later from England. And it was only in the XVIIIth. century that the participation of laymen in church government both in the lower and higher authorities, on an equal footing with the clergy, became universally established. Both the seniorates and the superintendencies met at Synods of their own, but no nation-wide synod could be held either on the part of the Reformed or on that of the Lutherans („Evangelicals holding the Augsburg Confession", called in later times simply „Evangelicals"), and as a consequence no unified Reformed or Lutheran church could take shape, this being impossible in view of the politically dismembered state of the country. Only in 1881 could a national synod and church come into being on the part of the Reformed and even then only for scarcely 40 years, Hungary being dismembered anew by the peace treaty of the Trianon, and the Reformed Church being broken up again into several parts. The Lutheran Church of Hungary could not achieve its unity even before this change, as the Lutheran church of the Transylvanian „Saxons" („Landeskirche") tenaciously maintained its aloofness from the rest, following its own nationalistic policies.

(b) **Unitarianism.**

Besides these two main currents of the Reformation-movement one of its offshoots was able to strike roots permanently in Hungary during the XVIth. century, namely the movement of *Antitrinitarianism,* known nowadays by the name of *Unitarianism.* Its stronghold was Transylvania, where under the reign of Prince *John Sigismond de Szapolya* (born of a Polish mother; died in 1571) late humanistic influences were found coming from Italy and Poland. In connec-

tion with these antitrinitarian thought had risen to considerable importance. These tendencies found a champion in the first bishop of the Transylvanian Reformed Church, the ingenious *Francis Dávid*, who had already passed through the stages of Roman Catholicism and Lutheranism and who was led under the influence of the teaching of Servetus to break away from the cause of the Swiss Reformation. By means of his splendid eloquence and masterly pen he succeeded, within the space of a few years (1565—1571), in carrying with himself the Reformed Hungarians of Transylvania almost in their entirety into this schism, organizing a separate antitrinitarian church under bis own episcopacy. His extraordinary success proved, however, to be shortlived. After the death of his chief support, Prince John Sigismond, Roman Catholic princes held rule in Transylvania who disfavoured the spread of Antitrinitarianism. His own restless nature not being able to find a footing in a passionate search after truth, he was soon driven to give up the still moderate position of Servetus and to reach the final conclusion, according to which he proclaimed Christ to be a mere man, unworthy of worship. This brought him into collision even with his own followers the great majority of whom renounced him, so that he had to end his chequered life in prison as a lonesome, broken old man. (1579). The larger part of his followers after having broken with their leader and seeing the unfavourable attitude of the rulers, rejoined the Reformed Confession. A smaller part however — after passing through a period of extremely interesting and variegated theological disputation, which stands unique in the whole history of Antitrinitarianism and which attracted the literary or personal participation of almost every Antitrinitarian theologian of contemporary Europe, — ultimately settled down in an Antitrinitarianism of the Faustus Socinus type. On the basis of this more conservative unitarian confession, which acknowledged Christ's participation in divine honours and therefore His right to be worshipped (its main summary is found in the Catechism of Rakow, 1605—1609), the Unitarian Church among the Hungarians of Transylvania was organized, its form of worship and government being copied mostly from that of the Reformed Church. As the other two Protestant Churches, this too had, and, even today has, a „bishop". As early as in the last quarter of the XVIth. century all the four Christian denominations in Transylvania, (remaining fragments of) the Roman Catholic Church, the Saxon Evangelical Church holding the Augsburg Confession, the Hungarian Reformed Church holding the Helvetic Confession, and the Hungarian Unitarian Church, were legally granted equal liberties and thus were safeguarded in their peaceful development alongside each other. Through this act of legislation, unparalleled in the whole of Europe in that age, the small principality of Transylvania has become the classical land of religious liberty, preceding and surpassing even the Republic of the Netherlands.

4. Hungarian Protestant Thought and Character.

As elsewhere, so also in Hungary, the formation of these Churches of the Reformation was not achieved without heated and sharp polemics against the old church and also against one another. The best spiritual forces of all the three denominations were absorbed in these controversies even to an excessive measure. Lutherans and Reformed whetted and blunted their spiritual weapons on one another and both in addition, on the Unitarians. Very soon all three had to exert themselves in defence against the Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation which rose again from its paralysed state under the leadership of the Jesuit Order as elsewhere, so also in Hungary, from the end of the XVIth. century, and leaving its attitude of defence went over into active aggression, not only in ecclesiastical and political life, but also in the field of literature and education. It is principally due to this reason, that as early as in the XVIIth. century, Hungarian Protestahtism began to lose necessarily that wholesome balance between the internal, constructive, and positive on the one hand, and on the other hand the external, aggressive and negative interest of theological thought, the maintenance of which always is a condition of normal religious life and which other Protestant churches, in more favourable situations, succeeded in keeping in a large measure. The leading thinkers and workers of Hungarian Protestantism were certainly not in a position to devote as much time and strength to the upbuilding and deepening of the confessional and doctrinal consciousness of their own people as was done e. g. by contemporary German or Dutch theology; their best energies had to be engaged in raising the ramparts against outside foes. A certain negative-critical attitude which is characteristic even today of Hungarian Protestant religious mentality, finds its origin in these historical circumstances: the average Hungarian Protestant in usually much more keen on what he does not believe than on what he does believe.

After the first decades of the XVIIIth. century, the fierce campaign of the Counter-Reformation abated somewhat and the ensuing comparatively peaceful times might have offered an opportunity to make up for the necessary onesidedness of the theological work of the preceding generations. But during this period the production of literature systematically strengthening the faith of Protestants was rendered simply impossible by the state censorship, subservient entirely to Roman Catholic interests. Even the importation of such literature from abroad was rendered extremely difficult. A new edition of the Heidelberg Catechism was allowed to pass only after all passages objectionable from the Roman Catholic point of view (especially the 80th. question) were deleted or altered. The end of the XVIIIth. century brought further relief even from this pressure and the beginning of the next century, with the dawning of modern liberal ideals of religious freedom, hastened the abolishment

of all these frictions. At this juncture, however, the whole of Hungarian Protestantism as we shall see was saturated with the spirit of the „Enlightenment" and its theology was a battlefield between moderate and more radical schools of rationalism. This spirit of the age could find a congenial home only in the Unitarian church, by far the smallest group in Hungarian Protestantism, which, having had an original bent towards rationalistic and moralistic piety, became fully identified with the new novement. The Lutheran and Reformed Churches, however, representing the overwhelming majority of Hungarian Protestantism, could not receive the influences of the „Enlightenment" and of rationalism, without deviating or even becoming alienated from their original fundamentals and in consequence were not strengthened and furthered in their own life, but on the contrary lost their bloom and vitality under these influences. A few surviving representatives of the older type of more „orthodox" confessionalistic theologians were again forced to take up the honourable but antiquated arms of defence and polemics — directing these now against the new enemy — and the positive tasks were left in the background once more.

It goes without saying that the day of this shallow rationalism and moralism has passed long ago in the two larger Hungarian Protestant churches, giving place to, psychologically and historically much deeper, more recent theological currents, and on the other hand, revived orthodoxy too has become enriched by a host of new influences. Yet, on the whole, even today the weakest point in the Hungarian Protestants' religious life is found in its doctrinal consciousness. The strongest point on the other hand lies in its character-forming power. A countless host of small and great Hungarian lives have borne witness to the beauty and the strength of true Protestant Christian character throughout the centuries to this day. Apart from other great examples to be mentioned later, a really representative type of this character was seen in that historical figure, one of the greatest sons of Hungary throughout her whole history, who was buried after his martyr's death, under the ruins of the recent national catastrophe, Count Stephen Tisza, the Calvinist. It was just in the year of the Calvin jubilee, 1909, that in an address listened to with eager attention by the whole nation, he made this profoundly fine statement: „The essence of Protestantism and its true great mission in the history of mankind, in my view, lies not in the fact that it has purged the Church from certain abuses, nor in having improved and purified the doctrinal teaching of the Church in this or that matter. It consists in that it was a revolt . . . against human authority, that it placed the Bible in the hands of the Christian believer and told him that there is only one authority for you, God Himself, the teachings of Jesus Christ; search for it in your Bible, build up your faith according to your own, true and holy conviction, and then we shall welcome you in our midst with open arms as a disciple of Christ."

II.

PROTESTANTISM IN THE LIFE OF HUNGARY.

(1. National life and politics. — 2. Education. — 3. Literature. — 4. General Prosperity.)

1. National life and politics.

The last four centuries in the history of Hungary, coinciding with the history of Hungarian Protestantism, are marked by an incessant life and death struggle for national independence. The imperialistic aspirations and traditions of the Habsburg dynasty, holding the throne of Hungary during this period, were irreconcilable with the free and self-determining Hungarian state-life. The constantly pursued policy of the rulers therefore was directed towards the absorption of Hungary into a „Gesamtmonarchie" and, at the same time, the Germanization of its people. In their age-long resistance against these endeavours Hungarians found the deepest resources of their moral strength in Protestantism. The Hungarian branch of the Church of Rome, identified itself more or less with the policies of the rulers, seeing that they were mutually one another's most natural allies. Protestantism, on the other hand, for a long time at least, could not but regard the dynasty as its most dangerous enemy on account of the support it gave to the cause of the Counter-Reformation with every means at its disposal. It was only natural that alongside a courageous loyalty to their faith a spirit of justified political opposition and a demand for national freedom grew strong among the members of Protestant Churches, especially among the pure Hungarian groups in them. In addition to this, the aristocratic-democratic forms of Protestant church-life as accepted also in Hungary, by offering a more or less wide sphere for the activity of the lay element, proved to be an excellent playing ground for political parliamentary abilities. As a result, in all the struggles which the Hungarian nation carried on against the Habsburgs for its liberty, and which constitute a chapter of no mean significance in the whole European history of the ascending ideals of national liberty, it was the Protestant aristocracy and middle-class that took the leading part up till quite recent times. During the time of the great religious wars in Europe in the XVIIth century these political aspirations, just as protestant as national, found their fullest incarnation in the heroic figures of the Reformed Princes of Transylvania: Stephen Bocskay, Gabriel Beth-

len, George Rákóczy I. and in the Lutheran Emeric Thököly. And the marvellous efforts of Louis Kossuth (a Lutheran), deservedly the widest known Hungarian politican of the XIXth century (whose enthusiastic reception in Great Britain and the United States was due very largely to the preparatory work of Hungarian and foreign Protestants, especially Unitarians), derived their inspiration, in its last analysis, from the same spirit of Protestantism. Naturally Roman Catholics, too, were always found among both the leaders and the rank and file in these struggles for liberty. But the Habsburg-court in Vienna made no mistake when attributing the failure or at the best only partial success of its policies of oppression and assimilation mainly (as used to be said at the court even in the first half of the XIXth century) to „the viper's brood of Bocskay".

Emeric Thököly
Leader of national uprising.

One of the important features of the Protestant spirit qualifying it to become the inspiration of all struggles for national and political independence, was its appreciative and helpful attitude towards national individuality in contrast to Rome's ecclesiastical internationalism. The use of the national language in the cult, preaching, schools and literature of Protestantism was a most powerful factor in the awakening and maintenance of the Hungarian national consciousness. No policies of the powers at Vienna, either directly Germanizing or otherwisse, aiming at denationalization through various indirect methods, could aught avail against this. The same effect of the Protestant spirit, the strenghening of the national consciousness in observable not only in the life ot the Hungarians, the dominant element in the state, but likewise in the life of all those national groups within the borders of the historic Hungarian state, that have come lastingly under the influence of Protestantism. Thus among the Lutheran Germans in the Northern parts and in Transylvania (called generally „Saxons" in the latter territory, though having no closer

relation at all to the Saxon branch of the German people) who have developed, under the influence of Protestantism, a highly prosperous civilization with marked features of their own national genius. Especially the Transylvanian Saxons, if they have been able to maintain to this day their national individuality and unity intact, engulfed as they were by an overwhelming majority of Hungarians and Roumanians, they owe it — besides their ancient political autonomy which ceased only during the second half of the last century — primarily to their Lutheran church-life. Their pioneer reformer, *John Honterus* (died in 1549), held in great esteem by the leaders of both the German and the Swiss Reformation movement, not only laid the foundations of their renewed religious life, but also inaugurated educational, scientific and literary activities which resulted in a general culture of high grade. The same uplifting influences in national and cultural respects followed in the wake of Protestantism among the Slovak Lutherans in the Northern districts. It was first through the spreading of the Hussite novement among them (bringing with it the old Czech, called also the „Biblical Czech" language, very closely related to their own Slovak tongue), and afterwards through the Reformation, that they obtained a cultured language and the beginning of their literature. In later times, too, their Lutheran ministers as poets, authors and scholars, had an important share in the literary advancement of the Slovak language. These facts — together with others to be mentioned later in another connection — are also proofs of the truth that Protestantism in Hungary has never served in a onesided, chauvinistic way *only* the interests of the dominant Hungarian element.

2. Education.

The principal means through which Hungarian Protestantism helped to shape the cultural life of the nation were its schools of all grades. Almost miraculously to the onlooker from the outside, the cause of education advanced by leaps and bounds in Hungary in the century of the Reformation. In every single Protestant parish at least a primary school was started in which not only reading and writing in the national tongue but also the elements at least of Latin were taught. Schools of a secondary and college grade too sprang up in large numbers. These institutions followed the educational system of Melanchthon, later that of Sturm and Trotzendorf; while the rules of the colleges were modelled after those of the Wittenberg University. The Roman Catholic schools, clinging to their out-of-date mediaeval system practically lost all their significance in the century of the Reformation, both as to their numbers and their efficiency. Even prominent Roman Catholic parents sent their sons by preference to Protestant institutions, as e. g. to the famous school of the Lutheran reformer and schoolmaster *Lenart Stöckel* (died in 1560) at Bártfa. The XVIth. century and partly the XVIIth. century wit-

nessed the rise of the most important Protestant colleges of Hungary: i. e. the Lutheran colleges, (called also „lyceums" sometimes) of Sopron, Pozsony, Eperjes, the Reformed colleges of Debrecen, Sárospatak, Pápa, Nagyvárad, Gyulafehérvár-Nagyenyed, and the Unitarian college of Kolozsvár. Apart from the conferring of university degrees and a complete system of all the four usual university faculties, the teaching given in these institutions corresponded in many cases to the highest contemporary university standards. Sufficient proof of this is the fact that more than once foreign scholars of international renown did not regard it as something below their rank to accept chairs in one or the other of these Hungarian Protestant colleges. Thus, in the XVIIth. century, *Martin Opitz*, the prominent German poet, and *John Alsted*, the great Reformed polyhistor and theologian taught as professors of the college at Gyulafehérvár (founded by Prince Gabriel Bethlen in 1622 and transferred later to Nagyenyed); *John Amos Comenius* the world famous educationalist, occupied a chair in the Sárospatak college of the Rákóczy Princes, editing even some of his famous text-books (Orbis pictus, Schola ludus) specifically for the use of the pupils of this institution. These secondary schools and colleges, especially the college of Gabriel Bethlen, were able to offer pupils free boarding in their „alumneums" and other assistance, through the means of benevolent donations and endowments partly given by the Princes and magnates, thus opening the chances of an almost free education to the poorest and securing a continuous renewal and enrichment of the educated Hungarian middle-class from the abundant resources of the lowest social strata of the people.

As a result of the Counter-Reformation movement the Hungarian Protestant schools decreased in numbers and had to face a rival of equal rank in the organized Roman Catholic educational institutions, especially those under the auspices of the Jesuit Order. But so tenacious was the clinging of the Protestants to their schools, and so generously were the financial burdens of these undertaken, that as late as in the XVIIIth. century 10—12 of their colleges, 70—80 of their secondary schools and 8—900 of their primary schools survived, in spite of the fact that through continuous warfare and forced conversion to the Roman Church the Protestant population had suffered considerable numerical losses in comparison with the previous centuries; their number in the whole of Hungary, Transylvania included, scarcely rising above two millions.

In these times too, these Hungarian Protestant schools were run according to the best contemporary standard; and all educational reform-novements springing up anywhere in Europe found an open door in them. Thus the Lutheran institutions yielded in a very large measure to the influences of the school-reforms of the German Pietist-movement, which found a champion in Hungary in one of Francke's most beloved pupils, *Mathias Bél*, a historian and geographer of world renown, honoured even by the Pope, (died in 1749).

In Reformed circles certain reforms were urged and partly successfully by the Hungarian adherents of the Dutch and English Puritan movements (of whom more will be said later): thus, especially, the placing of primary education completely upon a Hungarian national basis, and the education of girls. Pedagogical and didactical reforms on a great scale, equalling in importance those of Comenius, were initiated in the Bethlen College at Gyulafehérvár by the first philosophical writer in the Hungarian language, *John Apáczai Csere*, a scholar of quite extraordinary gifts, but succumbing to an early death (in 1659).

From the middle of the XIXth. century the ideals of secular education (state-schools) cast their spell upon Hungary too and as a result a large number of schools of the lower and the secondary grade were established by the State. The Protestant Churches, unable to compete successfully with the new system, particularly for material reasons, found themselves forced to hand over a good number of their primary and secondary schools. Even for the rest they were compelled by circumstances to avail themselves of the financial support of the State the price of which naturally had to be paid in the recognition of an ever increasing measure of State supervision and control. The greatest sacrifice of this sort was the transformation of the famous and excellent ancient Reformed college of Debrecen, comprising three well-organized faculties, into a State-university at the beginning of our century. An even more deplorable loss came with the closing of the Reformed law academies of Sárospatak and Mármarossziget, rendered necessary by lack of funds, after the dismemberment of the country at the end of the war.

From the point of view of the standard of teaching and educational efficiency the remaining Protestant schools continued to maintain their position and in many cases their prominence, and in matters of character training too they kept their loyalty to the old traditions of a strong Protestant spirit, although in some places the prevailing secular spirit of education made its weakening influences felt.

3. Literature.

Hungarian literature received its first strongest impetus, in the course of the nation's history, from Protestantism. The literary life of pre-Reformation Hungary was limited to manuscripts and codices of a religious content and almost entirely to the narrow cells of monasteries, having scarcely any influence upon the people as a whole. The literary activities of the Reformation movement on the contrary at once laid hold, through means of the printing press, of the whole intellectual life of the nation. There were thirty printing presses active in Hungary in the XVIth. century; only one of these stood in the service of Roman Catholic interests, all the

rest in Protestant hands. The first two books published in print entirely in the Hungarian language (as far as can be ascertained) were a translation of St. Paul's Epistles, bearing the stamp of the influence of Erasmus (1533), and an original voluminous controversial treatise in a purely Protestant spirit (1535). Between 1527 and 1608 about five hundred books and pamphlets were issued by Hungarian and foreign printers in the Hungarian language, nine-tenths of them being written by Protestant authors, while from the whole period of mediaeval Hungarian Roman Catholicism, covering 525 years only poetry amounting to one single volume and 15 volumes of prose, almost without exception religious works, are extant, and the larger part even of these dates from the beginning of the XVIth. century and is dominated by influences of the humanistic movement. Later, with the rise of the Counter-Reformation movement, Roman Catholic literary activities gathered strength and also Hungarian secular literature began to develop, but up to most recent times Protestant authors and the Protestant spirit held an unrivalled leading position in the literary life of Hungary.

As early as in 1541 the first Hungarian translation of the entire New Testament was published (by a Hungarian printer), from the pen of the Protestant humanist *John Sylvester* (who for some years occupied a professor's chair in Vienna University, although a Hungarian by birth). His preface in verse constitutes at the same time the first and very successful attempt at Hungarian poetry in classic metre. It contains, in very conscious and characteristic terms, an expression of the intimate connections that always existed between the Biblical spirit of Protestantism and the Hungarian national consciousness, language and literature:

> Az ki zsidóul és' görögül és' végre diákul
> Szól vala régen, szól néked az itt magyarul;
> Minden népnek az ü nyelvin, hogy minden az Isten
> Törvényin éljen, minden imádja nevét.
>
> (He who spake in Hebrew and Greek and lastly
> in Latin in olden times, speaks now to thee
> in Hungarian; in their own tongue to every
> nation, that all may live according to God's
> law and all may worship His name.)

Different parts of the Bible were translated into Hungarian after this by numerous divines belonging to all three Protestant denominations (mostly, however, to the Reformed Church), until at last in 1590 the first Hungarian translation of the whole Bible (Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books) was published (by a Hungarian printer, too) as the work of *Gaspar Károli*, Reformed minister and dean at Gönc. This translation has prevailed to this day as the commonly used Bible in all the three Hungarian Pro-

testant Churches, passing through a long series of editions (altogether about a hundred, either in its entirety or in parts) and undergoing repeated revisions. Quite a number of other translations of the Bible and parts of it have been made (and partly published) in later times by Hungarian Protestant scholars, greatly surpassing the activities of Hungarian Roman Catholicism in this respect, which remain rather meagre to this day. As to the printing and distribution of the Hungarian Bible, magnates, princes and magistrates of towns (e. g. Prince George Rákóczy I. of Transylvania, or the municipality of Debrecen) and in addition a great number of professional publishers both in Hungary and abroad rendered praiseworthy services. Since 1832 the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Scottish National Bible Society in later years, have carried on their unselfish and invaluable activities in disseminating the Károli Bible. According to the unanimous judgment of both Protestant and Roman Catholic authorities, the language of the Károli translation made a unique contribution to the life of the Hungarian language and literature, enriching it through its vocabulary, its world of ideas and its treasure of poetic figures, — approximating in this respect the significance, which Luther's Bible had for the history of the German language and literature, and the English version of 1611 has held for the English-speaking world.

Albert Szenczi Molnár

The numerous Protestant hymnaries too played a similar role in the development of Hungarian language and literature. Besides gems of original Hungarian religious poetry, these hymn-books contained what was best in the hymnological treasure of universal Christendom and Protestantism in particular: a number of hymns inherited from the Roman Catholic Middle Ages (adapted of course

in many instances to the Evangelical spirit), compositions of Luther and other foreign Protestant hymn-writers, but especially the book of the Psalter. The latter in a congenial metrical translation by *Albert Szenczi Molnár*, a great Reformed Hungarian itinerant scholar (also the first Hungarian translator of Calvin's „Institutio") who took the French-German metrical Psalter of Marot—Beza—Lobwasser as a basis for his work, — is enjoying to this day a unique popularity not only in the Reformed Church, but in a smaller measure also among the Hungarian Lutherans and the Unitarians. It was this Psalter (published in 1607) which gave quite an unprecedented impulse to the development of the language and metrical forms of Hungarian poetry. The original French melodies, too, which won a lasting victory in the hearts of Hungarian Protestants, alongside the Psalter-text of Szenczi Molnár, proved to be an influential contribution to the enrichment of the wellknown treasury of Hungarian song and music in general.

Psalterium Ungaricum

SZENT DAVID
KIRALYNAC ES
PROPHETANAC SZÁZ
ötven Soltari az Francia
notáknac és vetſeknec módgyokra most
úyonnan *Magyar* verſekre tordi-
tattac és rendeltettec,
A
Szenci Molnar Albert *által.*

MDCVII.

HERBORNAE
Nyomtattatot Hollos Chriſtof által.

Front-page of Psalter of Albert Szenczi Molnár 1607.

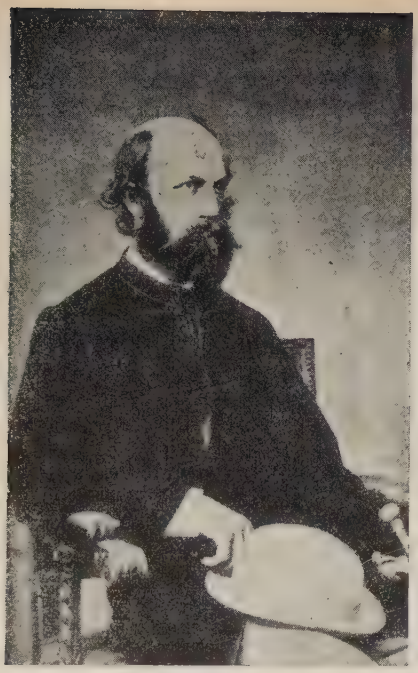
To Protestant scholars in most cases ministers of the Church, belongs the credit of having written the first Hungarian dictionary and grammar, the first universal history and the first national history published in Hungarian, the first Hungarian text-book of mathematics and botany, the first really Hungarian popular drama, all of them dating from the XVIth. century. A Protestant college professor — the above mentioned Apáczai Csere — made the first serious attempt at the creation of a Hungarian philosophical language. So conspicuous were the achievments of Protestant forces in the literary and scientific world of Hungary even after the devastating bloodshed and the ensuing bloodless but none the less harmful methods of the Counter-Reformation, that at the foundation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1825 the great majority of its first members had to be recruited from among Protestants (especially Reformed) although before long they had dwindled to a mere minority in the population of the country. The high Roman Catholic clergy deeply offended by this spectacle vented their indig-

nation in the saying: „Academia est consistorium Calvinistarum, ubi Lutherani ex gratia, Catholici ex misericordia recipiuntur". Out of the Reformed Church came in the XIXth. century (to mention only the very greatest figures): the leader of the modern renewal of the language, Francis Kazinczy, poet and essayist; two mathematicians of world-fame, Farkas and John Bolyai; the heroic explorer of Tibet, Alexander Kőrösi Csoma; the greatest Hungarian epic and ballad poet, also a translator of Shakespeare, John Arany; and the greatest Hungarian novel-writers, Baron Sigismund Kemény and Maurice Jókai. Hungary's widest-kown lyric poet, Alexander Petőfi, the poet of liberty and love, who died in the war of liberty in 1848—49, was a Lutheran. One of the greatest polyhistors of the XIXth. century, perhaps the last of his kind, Samuel Brassai (philosopher, Sanskrit-linguist, mathematician, musician, botanist etc.) who died at the age of 100, was a Hungarian Unitarian. With all these and a host of other Hungarian poets, authors and scholars whom space forbids to enumerate, Protestantism was not merely a chance matter of birth, but meant a definite quality of what was deepest and noblest in their spirit, characteristic essentials of which — such as depth and independence of faith, absolute ethical idealism, love of spiritual and social liberty, — find eloquent expression in all their writings. The most prominent among the Protestant ministers themselves did not limit themselves to the cultivation of the field of theology up to the latest times: from among the numbers of the ministers, especially the bishops of all the three churches (among the Hungarian as well as among those belonging to the German and Slovak nationalities,) quite a list of names stands out of those who distinguished themselves as poets, as historians, as philologists and as philosophers.

John Arany
greatest epic poet of Hungary.

4. General prosperity.

The above chapters are sufficient proof of the fact that Protestantism was a factor of decisive importance in the cultural development of the Hungarian nation during the last four centuries, i. e. during the whole second half of the nation's European, and



Maurice Jókai, novelist

more particularly, Christian history. This fact has always been readily recognized even by all unbiassed Hungarian Roman Catholics. Apart from other facts to be mentioned later, this can be seen from those donations and endowments with which wealthy Roman Catholic Hungarian laymen more than once hastened to the support of Protestant Churches and schools in their continuous material distress, — as a recognition of invaluable national and cultural services. Only two of the most noteworthy instances can be mentioned here, — leaving aside a great number of smaller gifts of this sort. In 1836 it was a Roman Catholic, *Count John Butler,* who laid the financial foundations for the Reformed Law Academy at Máramarossziget. In 1876, another Roman Catholic *Baron Anthony Baldácsy,* originally of Italian extraction (Baldacci), but a fiery Hungarian at heart, bequeathed a property almost 8000 acres of land to the three Protestant Churches for the service of the most cryng material needs, such as the support of distressed congregations and ministers, and the sustentation of ministers' widows and orphans.

Such an impartial, generous-minded appreciation of the values of Protestantism was due not only to a recognition of its merits in the way of national consciousness and cultural development, but also to the fact that to all unbiassed observers Protestantism was unquestionably a copious source of the people's general physical and moral welfare. The population of Protestant towns and villages stood out ever since the time of the Reformation, as representing intellectually a higher standard and morally a stronger and stricter type.

Alexander Petőfi,
greatest lyric poet of Hungary.

All the three Protestant Churches maintained a severe moral discipline among their flock, supported in this effectually by the feudal officers, town magistrates and county-authorities. The custom of „reconciling the church" (doing penance publicly before the congregation) was in force in many places, even in town-congregations till the end of the last century, although the „enlightened autocracy" of Emperor Joseph II. (1780—1790) had already made an attempt to abolish it, on the ground of the supposition that it was mainly due to this moral severity of the Protestant churches that a number of fallen women, in order to hide their shame, had killed their illegitimate offspring.

It was through such moral discipline in their churches, that for a long period the Protestants of Hungary stood as intellectually the highest, morally the finest and — as the puritan spirit of Protestantism bore its fruits also in this sphere — even economically the most industrious, most frugal, most thrifty, and in consequence, the most prosperous element in the population. This is true especially of the Lutheran Germans in the North and Transylvania, and likewise of the pure Hungarian Calvinists in the vast plain along the Danube and the Tisza. These latter, although living in the territories most exposed to the devastations of the Turkish wars during a century and a half, and that practically without any protection of fortresses and mountains, nevertheless remained loyal to their Evangelical faith in the midst ot the most crucial trials; laid the foundations of flourishing cities, and held high the torchlight of moral and intellectual culture. The Counter-Reformation which set in with full power after the expulsion of the Turks met with most stubborn resistance and had least success among these Hungarian Calvinists of the plains, apart from the Lutheran Saxons of Transylvania who were protected by their political privileges, — while in other parts of the country with the help of the pressure of the officials and the feudal lords, and especially through the settlement of Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox non-Hungarian colonists (largely from abroad) in the territories depopulated during the long warfares, the Counter-Reformation succeeded in changing the formerly Protestant character of whole districts in spite of a most heroic resistance.

As a consequence, while at the beginning of the XVIIth. century Protestantism had been the religion of the overwhelming majority of the population, as can be proved beyond doubt, in the XVIIIth. century its proportion to the total population dwindled down to less than 20 per cent at. the highest. When persecutions abated and finally ceased, this proportion began to improve again, as the rate of natural increase was rather favourable on the side of the Protestants for about a century, owing to their simple and clean moral life and the comparative prosperity enjoyed by them. By the middle of the last century their numbers reached 21—22 per cent of the total population. After this culmination a decrease set in again so that in 1910 their numbers fell below 20 per cent. (Today, in Hungary as mutilated by the

peace-treaty, statistics show a higher percentage, which is however an artificial result caused by changes involved in the country's dismemberment.) The main explanation of this numerical decay lies in the fact that in many Protestant families the former spiritual earnestness and moral discipline gave way to a spreading spirit of worldly selfishness, always inimical to the healthy and natural increase of population. In certain Protestant districts, isolated parts for the time being, even artificial control of birth has been in evidence, in the form of the „one-child rule", since the last half century. The numerical effects of this evil are enhanced by the high percentage, unquestionably above the average, of Protestants among the cases of suicides. With regard to both of these tragedies, (individual and racial suicide), the words of Thomas Masaryk (written in one of his former scientific books with reference to individual suicide) contain profound truth: „Protestantism, aiming at the development of every individual's character, produces independent personalities in every respect; it gives real liberty to every person, putting every one on his own feet; yet at the same time links them all into a harmonicus unity. But liberty may easily lead to religious doubts. A character which has not yet attained its maturity will sorely want, on the side of the Protestants, the strong spiritual guidance of the church, contrary to the case on the Roman Catholic side. It will be more difficult for the unfortunate to find consolation, in the absence of the human-priestly mediating agency. The believing Protestant is really happy and content; but a half-way or undeveloped Protestant is bound to be unhappy and is left alone with his doubts. This explains why such Protestantism is a favourable soil for suicides. A bad Protestant will despair much sooner than a bad Catholic, because he becomes sooner conscious of having lost the safe ground under his feet."*) This shows the way to remedy quite clearly: a renewal of the spiritual life and a re-establishment of earnest moral church-discipline (in a form, of course, adapted to the changed conditions of life), would make an end to the diseases mentioned and would enable the Protestant Churches again to become the most beneficial leavening influence in the life of Hungary morally. Intellectually, they have remained to this day, the strongest uplifting influence, as can be seen sufficiently from the number of their lower and secondary schools and the literacy of their adherents, rising by far above the national average.

*) Der Selbstmord als sociale Massenerscheinung der modernen Civilisation 1881. p. 62.

III.

THE HISTORIC STRUGGLES OF HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM AND THE ASSISTANCE GIVEN IN THESE BY FOREIGN PROTESTANTS.

(1. The period of the Thirty Years' War. — 2. Evangelical internationalism. 3. Material succour. — 4. Diplomatic aid during the last two centuries.)

1. The period of the Thirty Years' War.

As we have stated above, all the three Protestant denominations enjoyed legally safeguarded, perfect freedom in the Turkish suzerain-principality of Transylvania since the last quarter of the XVIth. century. The same rights were obtained by the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Northern and Western parts of Hungary, which had remained under the rule of the Habsburg kings, as a result of the succesful war of *Stephen Bocskay*, Prince of Transylvania. The terms of the Peace Treaty of Vienna (1606) which was concluded at the end of this war and which contained safeguards for the religious rights of Protestants, were incorporated into the laws of the country by the Parliament of 1608. But it was soon found that these legal safeguards were not sufficient proof against the attacks of the Counter-Reformation backed by the united forces of the Church of Rome and the Habsburg dynasty. Every opportunity and every imaginable pretext were used by

STEPHANVS BOCHKAY DE KIS
MARIA, PRINCEPS TRANSSYLVA
NIAE, PARTIVM REGNI HVNGARIAE DOMI
NVS, ET SICVLORVM COMES · ANNO MDC V.

Stephen Bocskay, prince of Transylvania.

the crown and by the clergy to break the power of hated Protestantism and on occasions the most cruel bloodshed took place, as a means to their end; so e. g. in 1621, the Lutheran town population of Csepreg was practically exterminated (with almost 1500 people killed), by the imperial mercenary troops, and in many other cases death and devastation marked their way through flourishing Protestant communities. Hungarian Protestants were forced under such circumstances to look for allies in defence of their most sacred interests, outside of the frontiers of their own countries and in the field of international politics. For a whole century, and even afterwards occasionally, their fate was entirely dependent upon the military and diplomatic vicissitudes of European politics.

It was especially through the Princes of Transylvania that the Protestants of Hungary were linked up with the international affairs of those times. Princes *Gabriel Bethlen* (1613—1629) and *George Rákóczy I.* (1630—1648), both ranked as worthy contemporaries of the great world-champion of Protestant interests in their days, — Gustavus Adolphus, King of the Swedes, — as to their loyalty to Evangelical truth and their personal piety as well as in matters of political ability and width of outlook. It was due to their exertions that Hungarian Protestantism rose to become a factor of no mean significance in the anti-Habsburg political concert of Europe in the Thirty Years' War and that as a result of this it was able at home to hold on to the legal safeguards of its liberty, and even to strengthen these, occasionally, against constantly repeated attacks. Those diplomatic and military plans, far-reaching in their implications, both for secular politics and for Church politics, which the two brothers-in-law, Bethlen and Gustavus Adolphus, had worked out together during the last period of their lives, were never to be realized, primarily because of the early death of both, one following the other at a brief interval. But never since then did the Protestant peoples and powers of the West leave out of account the Hungarian Protestants, either as a political factor or as

Gabriel Bethlen, prince of Transylvania.

George Rákóczy I.
prince of Transylvania.

a religious community of fellow-believers and never did they cease to show active interest in their spiritual and temporal welfare.

2. Evangelical Internationalism.

These connections with Protestants abroad acquired new significance and usefulness when, after the gradual weakening of the Turkish rule in Hungary and ultimately the expulsion of the Turks (during the last three decades of the XVIIth. century), also the independence of the Transylvanian principality over against the Habsburgs became weaker and finally although remaining a separate unity with a measure of autonomous government, this territory too was brought under the sway of the Habsburg emperor kings. (Michael Apaffi was the last prince of Transylvania.) With the disappearance of an independent Transylvania Hungarian Protestants lost their main stronghold of defence and the Counter-Reformation saw its chance to settle its accounts with them at one stroke once for ever. The parliament in which Roman Catholics rose to a majority in the meantime did its best to leave only shattered fragments of the former legal safeguards of religious liberty. And the government, throwing off at last even all pretence of legality and constitutionalism, dragged a number of the most prominent among the Protestant nobility and especially a great number of their ministers before the courts under specially devised accusations. Under the pretext of „high treason", „conspiracy with the Turks", etc. many of these were ruthlessly sentenced to death or heavy imprisonment, and 41 Lutheran and (to the larger part) Reformed preachers and schoolmasters who could neither be bent nor broken in any other way, were condemned in 1674, as a deterrent example to the rest, to be sold at the price of 100 dollars each as galley-slaves to the Spanish fleet in Naples.

During these mournful days, usually called the „dark decade" of Hungarian Protestantism (la néfauste décade = 1671—1681),

it was chiefly the flourishing Reformed Commonwealth and the Church of the Netherlands from which assistance came to the hard pressed Hungarian brethren. The Habsburg-power and the Netherlands were in political alliance at this time and, on the basis of this, rigorous and tenacious diplomatic interventions on the part of the Netherlands succeeded in saving Hungarian Protestantism from being outlawed entirely and from succumbing, as a whole, to the same terrible fate which befell the Huguenot Church and its members in France about the same time. Besides these effective diplomatic exertions on the part of the „Staten Generaal" of the Netherlands, the various Dutch Reformed Church courts and corporations kept the Hungarian problem constantly at heart in their deliberations and their prayers, giving evidence of their brotherly solicitude also in repeated gifts of financial relief, knowing — as was stated by the fathers at the Utrecht synod — „dat wij met die bedroefde herten sanguine Christi conglutinati scimus." It was largely at the incessant and urgent requests on the part of the Dutch Church bodies that the „Staten Generaal" gave commission to the heroic Admiral Michael Adriaenszon de Ruyter to liberate the Hungarian preachers labouring on the galleys of Naples, which commission was carried out by this godly soldier with much spiritual delight, prevailing through his determined representations over the Spaniards, who were weakened at this time and sorely in need of their Dutch ally. The Hungarian confessors (whose number had dwindled in the meantime, chiefly through mortality, to 24 on the galleys and 2 in the dungeons of Naples, respectively Theate) regained their freedom but stood homeless in the world. Besides the Reformed Church of German Switzerland it was again chiefly the Church and the State of the Netherlands that gave them shelter and hospitality, and it was mainly due to diplomatic interventions of the Netherlands in Vienna that finally the doors were opened to these

Michael Apaffi
the last prince of Transylvania.

wandering servants of the Church for their return to their homes. Protective diplomatic efforts on behalf of Hungarian Protestantism were made repeatedly also during the distressful times in the succeeding decades of the XVIIth. century by the Netherlands as well as by the English and Prussian powers.

These vital services rendered by the Dutch State and Church in the defence of Hungarian Protestantism (extended to both its Calvinistic and Lutheran branch, the Netherlands' classic spirit of toleration knowing no difference in this respect) constitute the noblest fruitage in history of that *Evangelical internationalism* which, thought out doctrinally and applied practically chiefly by Calvinistic theologians and statesmen, had reached its highest blossom in Europe during this century. The previous contact of Hungarian Protestantism with the international policies of Europe in the XVIth. century, as dealt with in the preceding chapter, had their basis, naturally, in the same ideals of Evangelical internationalism.

3. Material succour.

During the course of the XVIIIth. and XIXth. centuries, the militant and violent spirit of the political Counter-Reformation gradually decreased and Hungarian Protestants at last were given a chance (although only a very meagre one in the beginning) to unfold their inner constructive life in comparative peace. In these efforts, however, they were paralysed by a terrible handicap, not surmounted by them to this day, — namely by the lack of financial means. This was a natural sequel to the miseries of the almost uninterrupted warfares of the preceding centuries, to the persecutions suffered at the hand of the political power and the dominant Church, and most of all to the circumstance that Hungarian Protestants scarcely had any „Church-wealth" in the usual sense of the

Torturing of a Protestant minister.

word, even in their best days, but were always dependent for the maintenance of their Church-life primarily upon the contributions of their individual Church members. In very many cases, both in older and in more recent times the sacrificial spirit of these achieved marvels. Princely donations of Protestant magnates were matched by enormous levies borne for the Churches by the lower nobility, the city-burghers and the poor serfs. But these resources necessarily had their fluctuations and limitations inherent in political, economic, and spiritual conditions. Besides, the Protestant magnate families of Hungary (apart from Transylvania), having reverted to Roman Catholicism, with a few exceptions, by the end of the XVIIth. century, the descendants withdrew, wherever they could, their ancestors' donations to the Protestant Churches, which had already been terribly impoverished through the loss of innumerable Church, school and parish buildings and other properties, during the times of the cruel persecutions. As a consequence, the growing activity, in a narrower sence, of both the Churches, especially their once so flourishing and efficient system of schools, had to brave, not infrequently, heavy crises for lack of sufficient means. The endangered churches and institutions could again be rescued only through the help of Protestants abroad who in turn were quick to respond generously to such need whenever they were convinced that those requiring their succour had already exhausted their own resources.

Protestant ministers imprisoned.

During the last two centuries considerable amounts of gifts were received on several occasions by the Protestants of Hungary for various purposes, but especially for the rescue and the enlargement of their schools, from their brethren in Great Britain, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, America, in several cases also from the Royalties of such Protestant countries. There is scarcely a Protestant college in Hungary today in the re-erection of which, when shattered to ruins, or even in the first establishment of which considerable sums of money received in aid from abroad had not played a part. And there also are several secondary schools

Protestant ministers sold as galley-slaves.

of which the same can be said. Leaving aside the rest, let only those munificent donations be mentioned here through which the famous Reformed colleges at Debreczen and Nagyenyed and the Unitarian College and secondary schools in Tansylvania were helped in surviving disastrous or critical days in their life, by the generosity on the one hand of Anglicans and English Presbyterians, and on the other hand of English and American Unitarians. A great number of Lutheran and Reformed congregations facing destitution were effectively aided by the Gustavus Adolphus Association. One fact alone is suffcient to show how necessary such assistance was even in most recent days: even in the Reformed Church, on the whole better off than the other, and even in her Transylvanian church-district where certain remnants of the advantages of the Principality-period still survived in the institution of the landlords' patronage, in financial respects too, 300 out of 586 congregations about the year 1870 were able to offer a yearly minister's salary of 300 florins only on paper, (although even if really paid this amount would not have reached a minimum standard of life in those days of Hungary). — These noble traditions of the past revived when after the Great War, Protestant Churches of the West again came with generous gifts to the aid of the churches and schools of their Hungarian brethren.

4. Diplomatic aid during the last two centuries.

There were cases even during the last two, comparatively peaceful, centuries, when political and diplomatic proceedings on behalf of the Protestant Powers were called forth in the interests of endangered Hungarian Protestantism.

During the reign of the Emperor King Charles III. (1711—1740), and especially his daughter, the Empress Queen Maria Terézia (1740—1780), entirely autocratic, although covered by a constutional appearance, the last attempts were made, on a large scale,

to re-establish in Hungary the religious uniformity of the Middle Ages. No blood was shed anymore; nevertheless a rather ruthless pressure was exerted upon Protestants. Against the grievances of this slow but systematic and relentless recatholicizing policy Hungarian Protestants again appealed for help to the Protestant Powers (England, the Netherlands, Sweden, Prussia) which did not fail to intervene repeatedly through their diplomacy in the interets of their hard pressed brethren and succeeded in securing some relief in their condition. Maria Terézia's son and heir, Joseph II. an enthusiastic follower of the religious policies of Enlightenment and an ardent admirer of the example of the Prussian King Frederick the Great, granted a large measure of religious toleration to his Protestant subjects both in Hungary and elsewhere. Finally, the Parliament of 1790—1791 re-establishing the ancient constitution of Hungary in its entirety, inspired among others by the speeches of a number of Roman Catholic laymen, re-instituted also the Hungarian Protestant Churches in the legal rights of their freedom, which had been confiscated, or at least cruelly curtailed by the Counter-Reformation. Even then the public status of Protestants was far from a perfect equality and reciprocity over against that of the Roman Catholics. But the great Parliament of 1847—48, dominated by the ideally liberal spirit of the national renaissance of those days did away with that remainder of the autocratic and clerical reaction which had been in power (under Metternich) since the time of the Holy Alliance, and incorporated in its laws a perfect equality and reciprocity among the then „legally received" denominations of

Admiral Michael de Ruyter.

Memorial of the galley-slaves in Debrecen.

Hungary, i. e. Roman Catholics of the Latin and Greek Rites, Greek Orientals,Evangelicals of the Augsburg and the Helvetic Confessions and Unitarians. The last named had enjoyed in Transylvania, as we have seen above, religious liberty ever since the last quarter of the XVIth. century. In other parts of Hungary, however, they were granted religious rights for the first time now, which, by the way, had not much significance for them, only as a matter of principle, since the members of this denomination, ever since its formation, had lived and are still living in their bulk in Transylvania. On the other hand, it was by the same Parliament, that Transylvania, after having been ruled by the Habsburgs since the end of the XVIIth. century, as a separate unit of administration, became fully united with the mother-country.

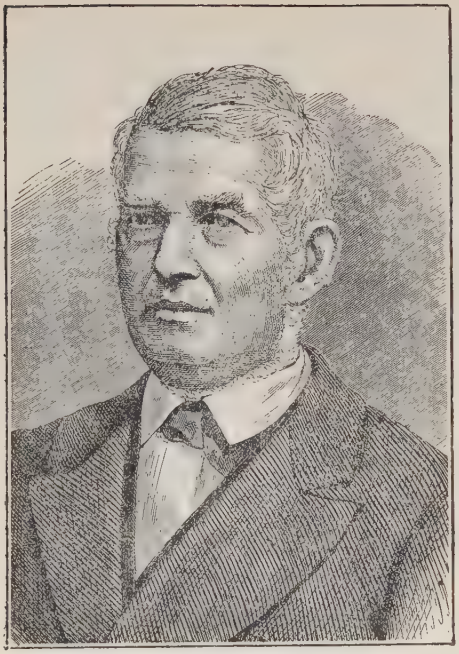
Louis Kossuth.

The great liberal renewal of the nation, as inaugurated through the Parlament in 1848. soon met with the opposition of the Habsburg-dynasty which attempted to suppress the whole reform through violent means. The nation answered in a heroic uprising in arms under the leadership of Kossuth in 1848-49. Through the assistance of the Russian Czar's troops the national forces were beaten and from this time till the constitutional settlement in 1867 Hungary was made the object of a series of experiments in various forms of open or disguised autocratic rule by the Habsburg-dynasty. All these policies recognized only a unified monarchy (Gesammtmonarchie) of the Habsburgs with the extinction of any legal independence of Hungary, involving a speedy Germanization of the whole population and a definite religious and ecclesiastical predominance of Roman Catholicism. Hungarian Protestantism was regarded as the principal leaven of a subversive, restless, revolutionary spirit and therefore if it could not be extirpated at least it had to be police-controlled or paralysed as much as possible. The shortest way in this direction seemed to be to rob the Protestant Churches (more especially the Reformed and Lutheran Churches outside of Transylvania, since Transylvania had been separated again from the mother-country by the autocratic regime and therefore did not fall within the scope of the proceedings in question), — of their legally safeguarded rights of self-government which they had maintained and exercized from the time of their formation even in their most difficult time, and to place them instead under a direct state-control, similar to that under which

the Protestant Churches of the German Empire and those of Austria had lived till 1918. (The „Kirchenordnung" of the Rhenish-Westphalian Protestant Churches served as a pattern more specifically.)

The young Emperor Francis Joseph attempted to carry out this abolition of religious rights, unparalleled in such recent times, through the simple issuing of an imperial „Open Order" (Patent). He met however with unexpected resistance. The pure Hungarian people of the Reformed Church rose up as one man against the new church-constitution imposed upon them by force, although it involved noteworthy material advantages to a great number of their factors and congregations hard pressed by poverty. In the Lutheran Church, too, the scheme was welcomed only by a majority of the Slovak element in tho North and some groups among the German element, while the Hungárian Lutherans, the majority of the Germans and a minority of the Slovaks also vigorously opposed the autocratic measure. The main explanation of the disagreement on the part of the mentioned non-Hungarian Protestant groups lay in the fact, that their solicitude for the ancient rights of their Churches so openly attacked by the imperial Patent, was outweighed by racial antipathies against the Hungarians. These feelings had become sadly inflamed through instigations from Vienna in the course of the war for liberty in 1848—49. It seemed to these groups as if their racial interests would be safeguarded better in a form of Church-government which would be under the direct control of Vienna. Others, however, regarded the maintenance of their ancient legal independence as of prime importance and joined hands with their Hungarian fellow believers in the resistance; not as if indifferent to their racial cause, but because they felt that a constitutional and liberal-minded Hungarian Protestantism could better be trusted to respect these racial interests than a centralistic, Catholicizing, autocratic Vienna government. On the whole, therefore, an overwhelming majority of the Protestants of Hungary flatly refused to obey the Patent, and when the Austrian Government tried to force its way by means of administrative pressure, and later through legal persecutions and imprisonments, the course of a heroic passive resistance was chosen by them. The leaders of this resistance, — the most prominent Hungarian superintendents, ministers and a number of

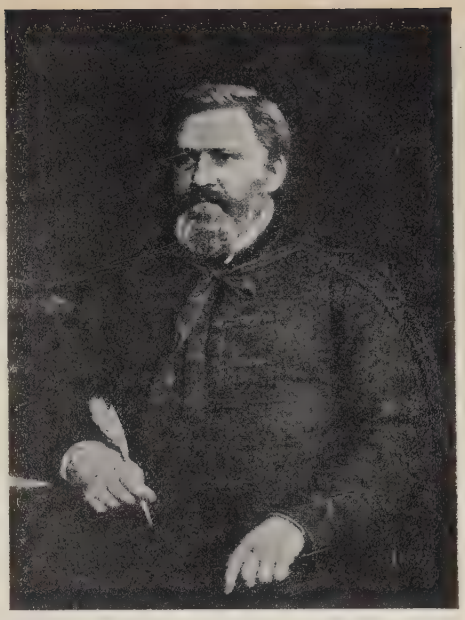
Paul Török
ref. superintendent.



Joseph Székács
Lutheran superintendent.

laymen of the highest standing, — did not fail to lay their case at once before their Protestant brethren abroad. Full information was spread concerning the implications and the significance of the loss of rights inflicted by the Patent, and concerning the historic foundations of the endangered rights in Hungarian national laws. This information was received by most foreign Protestant Communities with the fullest and most sympathetic understanding, especially where Protestants had a sensitive mind to the issues of church liberty over against the State. The Protestant circles of England and Scotland, not much in sympathy with Austria's policies on the whole, were loudest in voicing their condemnation of the Patent. The energetic protests of public opinion especially in Scotland, finding expression in striking public manifestions, moved the British Government to take vigorous diplomatic steps at the Vienna Court, joined in this most probably also by interventions of other Protestant Powers. (Details of these proceedings will become known only after a fuller research into the Vienna Archives). It was undoubtedly due largely to these diplomatic representations that the Patent was ultimately withdrawn by Francis Joseph on May 15, 1860, in consequence of which the two Protestant Churches regained their legal liberties and the possibility of an unhampered development. (The great leaders of the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches, Paul Török and Joseph Székács, were elected both superintendent in this year.) This defeat of the Habsburg-autocracy in the field of church politics was the first revelation of the inner weakness of the whole system and hastened those processes both in foreign and inner politics which soon led to its downfall. In this way, Hungarian Protestantism, through its resistance, again rendered distinguished services to the ideals of national freedom and self-determination both in Hungary itself and in Europe at large. It is interesting to note that among the leading circles of German Protestant scholarship the Hungarian Protestants' attitude of resistance against the Patent did not meet with sufficient sympathy, seeing that these circles compared the church-government to be imposed imperially upon the Hungarians, with their own „Landeskirchen" constitutions and with the rights of their own Protestant

rulers as heads of the churches (a position which no ruler in Hungary, not even the Protestant Princes of Transylvania had ever held) and in the light of such comparison found the terms of the Patent rather liberal. This point of view was controverted by Emeric Révész Reformed Minister of Debrecen and prominent Church historian, — the generally recognized scientific leader of the whole Patent-fight, — in a series of articles entitled „Die Autonomie der protestantischen Kirche Ungarns. Eine Apologie gegen Deutsche Gelehrte" published in the „Protestantische Kirchenzeitung" of Berlin, arousing wide-spread interest with his unanswerable arguments, both doctrinal and historical, for the justice of the Hungarian Protestants' case in defending their Church's liberties. The distinguished editor of the mentioned magazine, Mr. Hermann Krause, did not shrink from making this confession: „Our learned German theologians may learn a great deal from this study in matters of church-constitution and its underlying principles. The great weakness of our German Evangelical Church lies just in this circumstance that our scholars have practically lost all Church character and scarcely know any more what it means to stand up against the State government for the sake of divine truth".



Emeric Révész
leader in the Patent-fight.

Since the victorious conclusion of the Patent-fight and since the re-establishment of the Hungarian constitution which soon followed, the Hungarian Protestant Churches enjoy the status of denominational equality and reciprocity as incorporated in the laws of 1848, although the practical application of this principle in details leaves a good deal to be desired, on account of the actual political, social and material predominance of the Roman Catholic Church.

IV.

SPIRITUAL CONTACTS BETWEEN HUNGARIAN AND FOREIGN PROTESTANTISM.

(1. Hungarian students abroad. — 2. Currents in Theology: (a) Anti-Scholasticism. (b) Enlightenment. (c) Latest developments. — 3. Movements of practical piety: (a) Sectarian movements. (b) Puritanism and Pietism. (c) The revival of recent years. (d) Foreign contacts during recent years, and their significance. — 4. The Mission to Bohemia and Moravia.)

1. Hungarian students abroad.

There was no worthier way, as there could be none, for Hungarian Protestants to show their gratitude towards their foreign fellow-believers for their very significant financial and political assistance, than to appropriate and assimilate the spiritual treasures of these foreign Churches, in other words to avail themselves besides the temporal, also of the spiritual assistance that could be obtained from them. Hungarian Protestantism never failed to prove ita gratefulness by thus incurring an even deeper debt.

The most influential channel through which spiritual contributions were received from abroad, lay, ever since the beginning, in the „academica peregrinatio", i. e. the travels of Hungarian students, primarily of the candidates for the ministry, to foreign centres of learning. As we have shown above, Hungarian Protestants undertook very great sacrifices for the maintenance of their own schools. But their financial resources were absorbed by the maintenance and the development of their primary and secondary schools to such a degree that no sufficient strength was left to raise their highest education into a real university system. Besides, even in other countries universities generally came into being and rose to power only through the effectual assistance of governments, — and in Hungary, as we have seen, the government was hostile to the cause of Protestantism until rather recent times. Only the Principality of Transylvania was in an exceptional position in this respect, and here, as was to be expected, the Protestant college of Gyulafehérvár-Nagyenyed was really on the way to develop into a national university according to the intentions of the great Gabriel Bethlen. But the prosperity of this little state was too short-lived to allow for a complete realization of these far-seeing plans. Through lack of a university at home, therefore, Protestant theological students, just as students preparing

for other callings than the ministry, but obliged according to the then prevailing system of education, to make a study of theology none the less, felt the need, as a rule, to complete their training in philosophy, theology or other branches of learning in some foreign institution and there to acquire the usual university degrees which could not be obtained at home.

The century of the Reformation brought an immense increase in the thirst after knowledge and in the itinerant spirit of the Hungarian students which had been notable already during the Middle Ages.

The University of Wittenberg was quite naturally the principal centre of attraction for Hungarian young men during the first period. It was this Alma Mater, then at its zenith, which had nurtured and sent out the first Hungarian Reformed and church-organizers, the heroic pioneers of confessors, preachers and schoolmasters; and that for both branches of the Hungarian Reformation, — Reformed as well as Lutheran. For under the influence of Melanchthon's Catholic-minded spirit, — who, by the way, was specially addicted to his Hungarian students, drawing them into his closer fellowship in special Bible classes, — a broader type of Protestantism prevailed, as against a narrower Lutheran „orthodoxy" soon manifesting itself. This circumstance rendered it possible for students of Reformed convictions too to attend Luther's University, up to the end of the XVIth. century, when a most rigid Lutheran orthodox spirit captured Wittenberg. After this time only Lutheran students frequented Wittenberg and the other Lutheran Universities of Germany (as also in smaller numbers those of Denmark and Sweden) while the great numbers of Reformed students transferred their visits — apart from a few German institutions of the Reformed type, such as especially that of Heidelberg, — to the famous universities of Switzerland, England, but especially the Netherlands. (No strict denominational separation existed, however, in this matter and especially after the abatement of denominational strifes during the XVIIth. century, it was quite common for Lutheran students to visit Reformed universities abroad and vice versa, while Unitarian students who for centuries had no institution of the highest grade belonging to their own denomination, outside of Transylvania, were wont to visit either Reformed or Lutheran universities, if admitted at all by these.)

This migration of students did not cease entirely even during the darkest days of Hungarian Protestantism, and increased at certain periods to extraordinary swarms: e. g. in one single Dutch institution, ranking not even among the most famous ones, namely in the Divinity School of Franeker, 1200 Hungarian students were enrolled in the course of 166 years, and several other foreign seats of learning could boast of similar statistics of Hungarians. And all this in spite of the great difficulties involved in such „peregrination." There were of course a goodly number among these aspiring Hungarian young men, who coming from noble, wealthy and even (Tran-

sylvanian) princely families, could easily afford the expenses of travelling and sojourning abroad even in those days. But the great majority of these „academian" youths were sons of the poorer middle-class or even of the serf-population. These were able to overcome the financial difficulties of their studies abroad only by obtaining the help of benevolent supporters both at home and in the countries they visited. In addition, international travel in those days of Europe, the field of almost incessant warfares, involved a great deal of difficulty and danger, which demanded an uncommon measure of determination on the part of the travellers. Difficulties grew even more deterrent, when some of the later Habsburg rulers, especially Maria Terézia, systematically endeavoured to isolate the youth of Hungarian Protestantism and their Churches as a whole, as condemned to a slow death, from all invigorating and up-lifting influences from abroad. Under these rulers all imaginable obstacles had to be encountered by Hungarian Protestant students in obtaining a passport; and at times the issuing of passports to them was entirely stopped „for military reasons" or under other pretexts. But this was only oil poured on the flame. The young men, thirsty for knowledge, stole across the boundaries furtively, in disguises, if necessary, and exposed themselves, in holy adventuresomeness, to all risks entailed by such feats. When at last the restrictions in granting passports loosened and finally ceased entirely, such a host of young men hastened to avail themselves of the re-opened opportunity that according to contemporary official figures, within the course of about fifteen years 700 Hungarian Protestant students applied at the Vienna Chancellory for a passport.

Many of the foreign institutions visited by Hungarian students became in the fullest sense of the word, „Almae Matres", bountiful, nourishing mothers of these unknown sons of a far-away land; providing for their material needs as well as for their spiritual hunger and thirst. As a result of a practice that became fixed in the course of 100—150 years, a situation developed which is reflected most characteristically in the hard and dry statistical figures of a report of the Royal Hungarian Chancellory dating from 1766. According to this report the Universities, respectively Schools of Divinity of Oxford, Cambridge, Leyden, Utrecht, Franeker, Grossenhain, Harderwyk, Amsterdam, Heidelberg, Bremen, Marburg, Frankfurt on the Oder, Halle, Hanau, Erlangen, Berlin, Basel, Zurich, Bern, Geneva, Schaffhausen and St. Gallen, were offering every year to at least 90 Hungarian Reformed students the benefits of free lodging, boarding, sometimes even travelling expenses and other aid in cash or in kind, out of bursaries and stipendiums created by benevolent foundations. The Lutheran students of Hungary enjoyed support on a similar scale in connection with the Lutheran universities and colleges of Germany and the Scandinavian countries. Since the sixties of the last century also the Unitarians of England extended a generous hospitality to Hungarian students visiting their

institutions. In the course of centuries there was, of course, an ebb and flow in the tide of such unselfish, generous and solicitous provision, but it never stopped entirely. Some of the old bursaries went out of existence, others passed into oblivion, but new ones were founded in their stead, and these, together with a number of the surviving older ones, (of which the Stipendium Bernhardinum of Utrecht is the most significant) continued and still continue to serve their blessed purposes without interruption to this day, or with the only interruption, in some cases, of the years of the Great War.

The Hungarian Protestant Churches were at all times fully aware of the great value of such student travellings from the point of view of their own highest interests. This found expression apart from other numerous facts also in the significant rule, in power during former centuries, that in obtaining better positions in the congregations, candidates who had been abroad, as a rule, had an advantage over those who were only „house-trained" (domidocti) and also in the custom according to which ministers who had studied abroad, were honoured also by the title „clarissimus" in addition to the usual one of „reverendissimus".

2. Currents in Theology.

It was one of the natural results of this unceasing stream of Hungarian students to foreign centres of learning that all those stimulating, and in most cases positively enriching currents of theological movement which arose in Western Protestantism, found their way from time to time also to Hungarian Protestantism.

(a) Anti-Scholasticism.

That strong tendency towards theological eclecticism which we have observed in the time of the Reformation, remained characteristic of the Hungarian mind also in later periods. Neither Reformed nor Lutheran Orthodoxy, in their rigidly systematized form, was ever able to establish in Hungary an unquestioned domination. Orthodoxy had strong representatives in both Churches, but very soon also other types of thought made their appearance along with them, and later in opposition to them, especially in the Reformed Church. Such was e. g. that irenic school of theology of the famous Heidelber-professor, *David Pareus,* of which more will be said later in another connection. Such was also that „doctrina Deo vivendi" which was transplanted to the Hungarian Reformed Church by the pupils of the distinguished English — Dutch divine, *William Amesius* (1576—1633) firmly founded on Biblical ground, and intensely devout, but of a pronouncedly practical and moralistic spirit. One of his followers was the pride of Hungarian Protestant scholarship of the XVIIth. century, *George Komáromi Csipkés,* professor and minister in Debrecen, and author of an excellent Bible-translation (died in 1678), and he was also the main source of inspiration of the bravest reform-leader in the XVIIth. century Hungarian Reformed

Church, *John Tolnai Dali* (died after 1659), who, as a professor at Sárospatak, waged an uncompromising warfare against the petrifying Reformed Orthodoxy of his day. Many followers were won also by the anti-scholastic theological school of the Dutch theologian of German origin, *John Coccejus* (1603—1699), known generally also by the name of „federal theology" after one of its dominant ideas, and aiming at a „Biblical Theology" in the strictest sense of this term. Its Hungarian adherents, among whom especially *Samuel Szathmárnémeti,* professor at Kolozsvár and most prominent member of a very influential and scholarly „clerical dynasty" (died in 1717), stood out as the greatest figure, were instrumental in lifting Biblical scholarship which had been neglected by scholastic orthodoxy for a long time, to new vigour in the Reformed theological institutions of Hungary, even though hampered, in the beginning, by the peculiar and extravagant methods of „allegorizing" and „typology" to which Coccejanism was so fondly addicted. Not only at home did these Coccejan Hungarian Reformed divines sustain lively controversies against their scholastic-minded colleagues, but in several cases they took part, with no mean distinction, also in the theological encounters between Coccejanism and Scholastic Orthodoxy in the Netherlands. This was not the first instance in which Hungarian divines had made their names known in the international field of Protestant Theological scholarship, through original literary productions. Works of the two Reformers, Mathias Dévai Biró and Stephen Szegedi Kis already were published in German translations (after their death) and a good number of other Hungarian theologians of the XVIth. century had become known and esteemed abroad through their books written in Latin or (as was the case frequently with the Lutherans) in German. But it was especially during and after the Coccejan controversies that Hungarian theologians directly participated in the literary debates of foreign theology through their writings. A very good opportunity for this presented itself in the thesis customary at foreign universities on the occasion of the conferment of degrees, etc. often in order to testify to the diligence and the accomplishments of the Hungarian students before their benefactors both at home and abroad. Later, when during the XVIIIth. century through state-censorship, subservient, as we have seen above, to the interests of the dominant Roman Catholic Church, Hungarian Protestant theologians were almost entirely debarred from literary activity in the field of confessional dogmatics and ethics, such academic dissertations at foreign universities afforded practically the only opportunity for them to display their ability and their scholarship in these branches of learning through literary means.

(b) **Enlightenment.**

The spirit of Enlightenment and with it theological rationalism, too, very quickly found its way from abroad to Hungarian Protestantism, — first in small beginnings scarcely noticeable, but soon

spreading over the Churches in ever stronger waves. As a matter of fact, the first pioneer of this movement in Hungary may be seen in Unitarianism itself which did not cease to unfold a lively activity in the field of theology after the years of its formation had passed. (Their most prominent theologians, of European renown, were *George Enyedi,* in the XVIth. century, and *Michael Szentábrahámi Lombárd* in the XVIIIth. century.) In earlier times they maintained intimate mutual contacts especially with the Unitarians of Poland; later, after these had been exterminated by the ruthless Jesuit Counter -Reformation (a small remnant had sought and found refuge in Transylvania), they fostered intercourse with the Remonstrants (Armenians) of the Netherlands, whose teachings about the relationship between free-will and divine grace, departing as they did from the views of Calvinists, they rightly recognized as closely akin to their own rationalistic-moralistic tendencies. Even in later times it was Transylvanian Unitarianism that responded most quickly to the influence of the various English and German schools of the Enlightenment as they unfolded one after the other with an ever widening application of the rationalistic principle at its foundation. The two other Protestant Churches, having a different religious and theological principle at their heart, were slower in yielding to this universal European spiritual movement. In the Lutheran Church a professor of Eperjes, *John Bayer,* taught anti-scholastic doctrines, based on principles of Lord Bacon of Verulam, in the sixties of the XVIIth. century. Among those of the Reformed Church, the above repeatedly mentioned *John Apáczai Csere* had learnt the fundamentals of his own philosophic doctrines from Descartes, and among the Coccejan theologians too, there were several holding Cartesian views provoking thereby violent antagonism on the part of the conservative and scholastic-orthodox elements which, naturally, demanded philosophy that would be „auxiliary to theology", as was decreed by a Transylvanian synod in 1673. The rationalistic spirit found expression at first — till about the middle of the XVIIIth. century — only within the secluded walls of theological institutions. Still, it is significant that already in 1731 a Hungarian Reformed theologian, John Diószegi Kis, had made a Hungarian translation of one of the earliest and most influential precursors of the Enlightenment's philosophy of religion, the famous apologetic treatise of Hugo Grotius „De veritate religionis Christianae", publishing it under the nom de plume „A wandering Hungarian" at the expense of King Frederick of Sweden. Also a number of works of the other great proto-rationalist, Erasmus, had been widely circulated among Hungarian Protestants of the XVIth. and XVIIth. centuries, both in the original and in translations, especially his „Enchiridion Militis Christiani". Later, from the middle of the XVIIIth. century, several Reformed theologians, especially Transylvanians, inspired by ideas of the Enlightenment, went over into an open attack against the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and other Reformed dogmas.

Still more fervent enthusiasts for the ideas of Enlightenment were found among the educated Protestant laymen of the XVIIIth. century. Their fathers and grandfathers had equalled their ministers in loyalty to the faith, in thorough knowledge of the Bible, and even in theological scholarship; indeed, it was no unusual feature in either of the Protestant Churches that prominent magnates, even princely personages (both men and women) made their name known, with no mean distinction, as authors of theological, or more popular moralistic and devotional books, or as successful translators of such works of foreign divines, or at least as exemplary students of the Bible and theological problems (e. g. the Transylvanian Princes John Sigismond, Gabriel Bethlen, George Rákóczy I., and the latter's wife, Suzanne Lorántffy). The sons and grandsons, however, had fallen rapidly under the sway of the spirit of the English deists and later under that of Voltaire's and Rousseau's ideas. And the young men preparing for the ministry and the teaching profession in those days were imbibing very largely the same spirit in the foreign universities, although in a theologically more moderate form, of course. After their return from abroad, this young generation of leaders was pressed still further in the same direction by the influence and impressive example of respected and highly learned laymen. The more was this an unavoidable course of things, as the influence and weight of the educated, leading lay element was never so decisive in Hungarian Protestantism as just during these days of the XVIIIth. century, when, the ministers themselves being constanly harassed and crippled in every way by the State and the Roman Catholic clergy, the only hope of the Protestant Churches of averting the most dangerous assaults of the Counter-Reformation, lay in their politically influential, socially high-standing and wealthy lay element.

(c) **Latest developments.**

The spirit of the Enlightenment, with its more and more „vulgar" rationalism and moralism, once it had found its way into the Hungarian Protestant Churches, held sway for an unusually long time. After its day had waned everywhere else, it still remained in power in Hungary for almost half a century. Not even circles regarding themselves as most orthodox could escape its influences. Various interesting types of cross-breeds and compromises between supranaturalism and rationalism are to be found among even the most conservative theologians of this period. This situation lasted during the whole of the first half of the XIXth. century, or even during the next decade. The new currents of theological thought, started under Hegel's and Schleiermacher's influence, had practically no effect upon Hungarian Protestant theology during these times. This is the more peculiar, as during the same decades Hungarian *philosophical* thought had kept pace, in quite normal ways, with the decisive corresponding contemporary developments abroad, — and

that, very largely through educational and literary services of Protestant ministers and professors. (One of the most original builders upon Kantian philosophical foundations, and the prince among Hungarian philosophers to this day, Charles Böhm — died in 1911 — himself began his career as a Lutheran theologian and professor). One of the main reasons for this peculiar state of things lies undoubtedly in the fact that the great period of the national liberal awakening between 1790 and 1848 was, in its general tendency, much more favourable to philosophical than to theological interest. Moreover, as a consequence of the Napoleonic wars and the ensuing very depressed political and economic conditions, as also on account of the suspicious, retrogade church-policy of Emperor - King Francis I., the number of Hungarian students travelling abroad had fallen at this time so low as never before. The replacement of Latin by the various living national languages in the Universities of Europe at this time was another circumstance that handicapped the Hungarian students in their work abroad and, in the beginning, even deterred many of them from going abroad at all, owing to their being just as unlearned in the modern Western languages as they were thoroughly versed in Latin (with the exception of those, of course who belonged to the German-speaking groups in Hungary).

A more lively interest in theological matters can be observed again only after the sixties of the last century. The adherents of a theological and church reform party, arising about this time under the leadership of the ingenious and many sided *Maurice Ballagi*, (a Jewish proselyte, professor of the Reformed Theological Academy at Budapest, died in 1891), tried to make up for all the neglect of the previous decades with one stroke. A vigorous campaign was launched against old-fashioned „orthodoxy", i. e. against the prevailing more or less rationalistically diluted supranaturalism and all conservative forms of Church life breathing the same spirit. The watchword given out was „a renewal of religious and moral life in the spirit of Jesus and in accordance with the entire cultural advancement". In the interest of this they undertook to capture by storm the public mind of the Hungarian Protestant Church for the views of the theological and historico-critical schools inaugurated by Schleiermacher and Baur. Their ardent zeal blinded their eyes, however, to a careful distinction between really assured results of theological science on the one hand, and untested theories in the stage of fermentation on the other hand. As a result they roused a strong opposition against this endeavour, not only on the part of the entirely antiquated, oldfashioned, hard and dry „orthodoxy" of the rationalistic-supranaturalistic blend but also on the part of the more modern and live elements among the conservative theologians. The cause of the latter found its most energetic, and one of its most learned champions in the above already mentioned Emeric Révész who adopted the theological platform of the Evangelical Alliance then at its prime, and made great exertions in the seventies to

organize a Hungarian branch of this Alliance, without, however, succeeding. The reform party on the other hand, with Ballagi at their head, took the „Protestantenverein" of Germany as a model and organized the Reformed, Lutheran, and Unitarian theologians of Hungary who accepted the principles of the liberal critical schools of Germany and Holland, into a „Union of Protestants of Hungary" (in 1871). This Union has rendered unquestionably great services in the field of Hungarian Protestant theological literature; nevertheless the best of the strength of its very founders and leaders was wasted in passionate and futile controversies, not even always concerning problems of theology and faith, but much more frequently matters of church and school politics. On the whole the negative element in the programme of this Union outweighed its positively constructive contents, and for this reason alone it was bound to be short-lived. So much has to be admitted without questioning the fact, that the agitations caused by this Union of Protestants have created a livelier interest in theological problems, and in general in religion itself. Since those days the Protestants of Hungary are keen again to link up and to keep pace with developments in religious life and thought abroad, just as their ancestors had done, as we have seen, in the XVIth. and XVIIth. centuries. Today, there could be scarcely one among the more important foreign theological currents of the last two generations, which would not be represented in the theological literature or in one or the other chair of the theological colleges of Hungarian Protestantism. Rationalism of the old type has been abandoned in the meantime even by Unitarianism, especially since it was brought under the spiritually deeper influences of Channing, Parker and Martineau whose writtings have been made accessible to wide circles through translations by Hungarian Unitarian scholars. After the dissolution of the Union of Protestants, much has been done in the way of promoting theological), and in general, religious literature (both original and translated), by the Hungarian Protestant Literary Society, founded in 1888 and in constant activity since then by cooperation of Reformed and Lutherans. Deserving services in the same field were, and still are, rendered by the Luther-Union among the Lutherans, the Calvin Union among the Reformed, the Francis David Union and the Unitarian Literary Society among the Unitarians, also by the Parochial Library organized by the Reformed Church, by the Reformed Ministers' National Union, founded in 1907, and most recently by the Dutch-Hungarian Reformed Committee, the London Religious Tract Society, etc., etc. An important service among many others rendered by these various agencies was the publication of modern Hungarian translations of the principal works of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin (e. g. the latter's „Institutio" in its largest edition of 1559).

3. Movements of Practical Piety.

(a) Sectarian Movements.

Influences affecting the course of Hungarian Protestantism from abroad, were never limited to, nor were they most momentous in, the theoretical field of theological scholarship, but the fires of practical religious life itself, when burning low, were set again ablaze by them from time to time. A hunger for earnest spiritual life and moral purity flowing from it was always awake in the rank and file of the Hungarian Protestant Churches. At times, when their official Church-leaders failed to make sufficient provision for this spiritual demand, being absorbed either in their dry doctrinal controversies or in onesided interests of Church politics, simple believing folk none the less sought for their spiritual satisfaction wherever they found it, wandering sometimes off into ways of error. This explains in the history of Hungarian Protestantism from time to time the appearance of strong sectarian movements, mostly of a purely popular character. The oldest of these, and an original growth of the Hungarian soil, was the movement of the *„Sabbatists"* which received its creative impulse from that radical type of Unitarianism (regarding Christ as mere man and therefore „non-adorant" and „non-invocant" in its attitude towards Him), which was inaugurated in Transylvania by Francis David in the last stage of his career (see above) and which was driven underground but survived during the time of its persecution. The followers of this radical school had devoted themselves with a special predilection to the study of the Old Testament, in which, according to their view, the unity of the Godhead found much purer expression than in the New Testament; amidst the trials, under persecution suffered for such views, the Old Testament prophecies had kindled in their hearts flames of Messianic expectation. Ultimately this secret and essentially sectarian movement was led into a definitely Judaizing pathway by the decisive example and influence of two Transylvanian magnates, *Andrew Eössi* and *Simon Pécsi* (the latter died about 1642). Pécsi, the most mysterious personality in the spiritual history of Hungary, at one time the chancellor of Prince Gabriel Bethlen of Transylvania, stood out as one of the most accomplished Hebraists of his day. Having given himself to an absorbing study not only of the Old Testament (on which he diligently worked as a translator) but also of the Rabbinical and Cabalistic literature, he was led by and by to a radical breach with Jesus Christ and historic Christianity, looking for the speedy coming of a new Messiah, and trusting for his salvation in the full, strict and literal observance of the Mosaic law. His rather numerous adherents, recruited mostly from among the Unitarians, but also from other Churches, and primarily from the simpler classes of the population, were so fanatic in their zeal that the State had to interfere soon with the agitation. A severe persecution followed which made an end of the spread of this sect.

A small fraction, however, — among the „székelys" the ancient Hungarian tribe inhabiting the Eastern frontiers of Transylvania, to which also the largest part of Unitarians belonged, — defied all danger and succeeded in maintaining itself in a few villages of the „székelys" till quite recent times. Their last remnant of a few families finally joined the Synagogue in due form, when in 1868 the Jews were admitted to all rights of citizenship in Hungary. As another issue of the war-ridden mind about the middle of the XVIIth. century, a *chiliastic* movement coming across the frontiers from Protestant circles in Bohemia-Moravia, found some reception in Transylvania und in the Northern parts. Under the influence of Comenius, the great educationalist, even the ill-fated Prince George Rákóczy II. endorsed the ideas of this novement. (He died in 1660 from a wound received in a lost battle.) The Anabaptist movement at the time of the Reformation met with severe persecution in Hungary and could not strike root among its people, although a few families of Moravian anabaptists, who settled as artisans in Transylvania, having been granted toleration and certain privileges by the great Reformed Princes, were able to maintain themselves till the second half of the XVIIIth. century. About the middle of the last century a modern movement of „adult immersion" arose under influences from Switzerland and Germany, winning adherents chiefly in the larger cities but also in the spiritually neglected country parishes of the Reformed Hungarian population on the great plains, and producing also an offshoot of a stricter and more popular character, known as „Nazarenism." Its expansion, however, did not assume greater proportions. „Nazarenism", for one thing, because forbidding its adherents the taking of oaths and the use of arms, came into conflict with the State authorities; and even the main movement of the „Baptists", though obtaining its „recognition" by the State at the beginning of this century, remained only a minute sect without any noticeable influence except in places where the historic Protestant Churches were unable to penetrate their masses spiritually (as in and around the capital with its abnormal growth of population and in the overcrowded parishes and the scattered „diaspora" in the country districts.) During the last decades, especially during the years of the War and the revolutionary upheavals, also the „Seventh-day Adventists" and the „Millenists" made their appearance, carrying out a lively and widespread propaganda especially through their literature, but having just as negligible an effect upon the numerical status of the historic Churches, as had the above mentioned movements.

(b) Puritanism and Pietism.

An incomparably deeper impression was made upon the practical religious life, by those movements which aimed not at the creation of sectarian communities but at a spiritual renewal of the Protestant Churches from within. In the Reformed Church such a process was started under the influence of Dutch and English Puri-

tanism about the middle of the XVIIth. century. We have noted above how contact with the Puritans abroad had affected the work of Hungarian Reformed theologians, but, quite naturally, the effects upon the practical life of the Church were still much more important. The pioneer of this movement was the already mentioned John Tolnai Dali; its most influential representative the chaplain of the Transylvanian Court, the deeply spiritual *Paul Medgyesi* (died in 1663), who translated a number of practical devotional books written by Louis Bayley and other English Puritan authors, in a congenial spirit and with unusual success: — especially the „Praxis Pietatis" of Bayley had an extraordinary circulation, becoming truly a household book for generations. The aims of this movement were, on the one hand, the introduction of a stricter Church-discipline according to Calvinistic-Puritanic principles, and, in the interests of this, the universal establishment of Kirk-sessions, only sporadically in existence until then; and, on the other hand, a deepening of the religious life in a Biblical spirit, both in individuals and in common worship. In harmony with all these Biblical and puritanic tendencies a war was declared on all episcopal and „senioral" forms of Church government. All these endeavours were received, on the part of the conservative official circles of the Church, with intense aversion, aggravated in many cases also by certain infantile diseases inherent in the movement, breaking out in the frequent extravagances of its followers. At a „national synod" of the Reformed Churches at Szatmárnémeti in 1646, where the districts under the rule of the Transylvanian Princes were represented, presided over by the head of the conservative party, the great polemic theologian and canon-lawyer, *Stephen Geleji Katona,* — Reformed Bishop of Transylvania, — the whole reform-movement was condemned and its leaders were sentenced to various canonic punishments, but its popularity was increased thereby the more. Some of its important principles and practical demands at least came to be adopted by and by almost unconsciously by the official life of the Church, as e. g., the purging of public worship of certain Roman Catholic survivals and the establishment of Kirk-sessions (with the retention however of the offices of the bishop and seniors). This was also due very largely to the support and the example of a number of magnates and princely personages. While Prince George Rákóczy I. with his elder son George Rákóczy II. had shown a hostile attitude to the puritanic reform-movement, his wife on the other hand, the saintly *Suzanne Lorántffy* (died in 1660) and his younger son, Sigismond Rákóczy, who was deeply learned in theology, but died an early death, were fervent adherents of the cause, and did a great deal for its advancement on the territory of their vast possessions. A somewhat parallel development took place in the Lutheran Church, about half a century later, in the pietist movement spreading to Hungary from its centre in Halle. Here too the official church received the endeavours after a renewal with misgivings and at the national synod of Rózsahegy,

(held in 1707), severe condemnations were passed on it. But afterwards the public mind of the Lutheran church became quite friendly to the movement, especially as its representatives, on the whole, avoided the extremes of pietism and succeeded in assimilating and transplanting only its really valuable contents.Especially the leading ministers of the almost entirely Hungarian Transylvanian church district were almost all men filled with the intensely devout and practical spirit of pietism during the XVIIIth. century, until rationalism became prevalent. The most outstanding figures among them were *Andrew Tokos* (died in 1737) and *George Bárány* (died in 1757), both of them noteworthy translators of the Bible. The same movement made its appearance and bore its blessed fruits also amidst the German Lutherans of Transylvania, although here too it had to face strong antagonism in the beginning. The ministers influenced by pietism were distinguished by their unflinching moral earnestness and discipline in tending the flock entrusted to their care. Their attention was directed to both the spiritual and the temporal wellbeing of their people. They were the founders of the first Hungarian orphanages and of other charitable institutions. Religious education became a warmer, more alive affair under their influence. They introduced special instruction for confirmation, which became a universal practice in Hungarian Protestantism. In general, all problems of education and religious instruction had a very warm place in their hearts just as with their spiritual pattern, Francke, and a great number of text-books were written and translated by them. Even during the period when rationalism was most rife, the influences of pietism lived on as a thin, but pure and warm underground current in the Lutheran Church and even gathered new strength from time to time through contact with German pietism. The founders of the first great national institution of charity in Hungarian Protestantism, the *National Protestant Orphanage* (1859), were inspired very largely by the active, devotional spirit of this movement. Of their number especially the name of *George Bauhofer*, Lutheran minister of Buda (died in 1864), should be mentioned, who wrote what is still the largest Protestant Church history of Hungary in a foreign language.

Suzanne Lórántffy,
wife of George Rákóczy I.

Bauhofer served also as court-chaplain to the Lutheran wife, (later widow) of the palatinate Archduke Joseph of Habsburg, the deeply devout *Mary Dorothy,* Princess of Würtemberg. In company with her, he played a great role in building up the spiritual life of the Protestants in the capital, rather few in number at that time, the Archduchess even spreading her pure Evangelical convictions with some success in Roman Catholic circles of the high aristocracy.

(c) The Revival of recent years.

These older puritan and pietist influences, with their survivals and their memories, were the precedents, to which were linked in the second half of last century the influences of the great Evangelical revivals which had been moving the foreign Protestant world for about a century. The need for such an awakening had become already extremely urgent in Hungarian Protestantism. Its inner life, both among the educated classes and the masses of the people, had lost its vitality, the power of a living faith, sure of its values and expressing itself in deeds of love. The educated classes had become the prey of a general vague liberal idealism of a rationalistic type, of a self-satisfied cultural conceit, and later of a „scientific" sham-philosophy of naturalism. And with the broad masses of the people religion had become dried up into a formalism clinging to the externals of conservative church-life, scarcely any one among the rationalistic supranaturalistic preachers of several generations feeling the need to fill this framework with a new life of the Spirit. (An exception in this respect was e. g. *George Szikszai,* minister of Debrecen who, through his book of meditations and prayers, published first in 1756, and writtem most probably independently of any special foreign source, has proved himself one of the richest devotional writers in the whole history of Protestantism and has won his way to the hearts of the Hungarian Protestant people in an unusual measure). After previous sporadic efforts a stronger wave of religious revival arose at last in the eighties of the last century, at first in the capital under the leadership of some earnest professors of the Reformed Theological Academy of Budapest, especially *Dr. Aladár Szabó,* who found support from some distinguished laymen, among them especially *Aladár Szilassy,* (died in 1924) the descendant of one of the oldest and noblest Hungarian families. The witnessing life and sacrificial devotion of the latter bore fruit of a lasting value, especially among religious movements amongst the youth. Humanly speaking it was due to the untiring efforts of this group that in the midst of the sins and miseries of a rapidly growing metropolitan population the Hungarian Protestant revival was able to start and to continue on an ever-rising scale its spiritual, moral and social uplifting services. In their activities they received continual inspiration through a constant intercourse with relative spiritual movements in foreign Protestant churches (especially those of Switzerland, Germany, England and Scotland). One of the oldest and most important channels through

which these contacts were maintained was found in the Jewish Mission Station of the Scottish Free Church, active in Budapest since 1841 and enjoying the friendly cooperation not only of the Reformed Church but also of a number of devout Lutherans (as e. g. the above mentioned Bauhofer and the Archduchess Mary Dorothy). Valuable stimulating influences were mediated through the Bethesda Hospital, founded in Budapest in 1866 by the local German Reformed community in cooperation with the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses Institution. Another important link came into existence through the Young Men's Christian Association, begun in Hungary in 1883. During the lifetime of the last generation this movement of Evangelical revival found its way from the capital also to the country districts, not without many struggles and some mistaken efforts. This gave birth to a number of variegated religious novements some of which have taken shape since then in flourishing national organizations and institutions (Bethania Association, Christian Endeavour Societies, Student Christian Movement, „Soli Deo Gloria" Reformed Students' Union, National Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., Deaconesses Unions, Sunday School Union, etc.) Gradually all these activities came to be recognised as indispensable even by those who had disapproved of them in the beginning on the grounds of principle, or out of practical considerations, or as in many cases merely out of a rationalistic or chauvinistic prejudice. Distinct opposition and criticism have abated, especially since these „free Evangelical movements" have come to recognize quite consciously their duty to identify themselves with the interests of the historic churches, and have been able to suppress in their own life certain tendencies of separatism, sometimes almost sectarian in their character, which are always likely to appear in connection with such revivals. On the other hand the churches too woke up at the same time to a recognition of the truth that evangelization and home-missionary services are functions essentially obligatory upon themselves as Churches of Christ, and cannot be neglected by them in their official capacity or be left to voluntary free organizations, without the danger of the churches becoming an empty framework of ecclesiasticism and ritualism, doomed to certain decay.

(d) **Foreign contacts during recent years and their significance.**

It deserves special mention at this place that since the second half of the XIXth. century the foreign contacts of Hungarian Protestantism were promoted to very great advantage, by an increased number of students going abroad, and through connections with various great international movements of the Protestant world. As a consequence of this not only did Hungarian Protestants pay increasingly frequent visits to their sister-churches in other lands, but also vice versa a constantly growing number of representatives of foreign churches came to visit Hungary, either in the capacity of official delegates or as private travellers, thus obtaining a close insight into the conditions of Hungarian Protestantism, formerly not

sufficiently known abroad. The Reformed Church of Hungary took part in the life of the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system since the time of its organization in 1877. The Lutherans of Hungary maintained frequent intercourse especially with the strong Lutheran life of Germany, but during the last years they have begun to build up diligently their connections also with all other parts of the Lutheran world (through the Lutheran World Conference etc.) Since the first years of the XIXth. century, a very intimate intercourse developed between Hungarian Unitarians and their co-religionists in England and America; as early as in 1896 an international Unitarian convention was held at Budapest. At the great occasion of the Calvin-jubilee in Geneva in 1909 a numerous and strong Hungarian delegation attracted a good deal of interest. In 1911 the Presbyterian Alliance held a significant conference in Budapest, in connection with which all important churches of the Hungarian Reformed Church received visits of a great number of foreign delegates. Other important international gatherings that exerted an influence upon Hungarian religious life were the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh 1910, and the conference of the Presbyterian Alliance held in Aberdeen 1913. Also the free religious organizations of Hungary were keen to take part through their delegates, with a growing frequency, in international meetings connected with their cause, deriving from these a highly valuable stimulus for their activities at home. Intercourse with the sister-churches in North America was promoted especially through the circumstance that (particularly since the last two decades of the last century) a very large number of Protestant emigrants from Hungary (from among the Hungarians as well as the other nationalists) settled on the other side of the Ocean, especially in the United States. Great efforts were made and sacrifices undertaken to care for the spiritual needs of these and for the organization of churches among them, both on behalf of the North-American and the Hungarian denominations and in this connection many opportunities arose for friendly cooperation between the American and the Hungarian churches. All these contacts, multiplying year by year, had an inestimable influence upon the deepening and strengthening of religious life in Hungarian Protestantism, and proved to be of very great value, during the last years, also for the protection of the religious and educational liberties of the Hungarian Protestant Churches placed under alien rule at the end of the Great War.

4. The Mission to Bohemia und Moravia.

That all those gifts spiritual and moral, scientific and practical, which the Protestant Churches of Hungary have received from abroad in the course of centuries, were not wasted upon them, is proved eloquently by the fact, that, when even greater needs than their own arose in sister-churches beyond their frontiers, they endeavoured to hand on such help as had been bestowed upon themselves.

After Emperor Joseph II. had issued his Edict of Toleration in 1781, the Protestants of Austria, entirely suppressed for a century and a half, woke up to new life and many thousands dared again to avow their Protestant confession in different parts of the Empire. During the long period of the oppression they could have no ministers from generation to generation, and their faith was kept alive with an admirable loyalty only through Bible reading and private worship. When the great change to the better came at last, the Lutherans among them had no difficulty in obtaining preachers speaking their language or a closely related one, from the German and Slav Lutheran churches in Hungary and in other lands, and thus the rebuilding of the Lutheran Church from its ruins could take place at once. But several thousands among the Czechs and the Moravians had avowed the Reformed Confession, and as there was scarcely any Reformed Church using a Slav language elsewhere in the whole world, their need for ministers was a very grave problem. Their deplorable condition and their appeal for help moved the heart of the Hungarian Reformed Church and in the course of a few years about 40 young ministers, most of them Hungarians, a small fraction of Slovak nationality, the majority coming from the college at Sárospatak, a smaller part from the college at Debrecen, were sent out to help in reconstructing the Reformed Church of Bohemia and Moravia. Most of these young ministers had to acquire a knowledge of the Czech language with much difficulty when on the spot, and at work among their parishioners. As a result of their admirable devotion the still existing Reformed Church of Bohemia and Moravia was soon organized and the scattered flock was enabled to begin a new life under efficient leadership. Several of these young ministers, having discharged their services of reorganization, returned later to their own country, but the larger part remained there till their death and continued to serve the cause of the Gospel in the midst of their new country, in spite of the distress and ingratitude which they had to face. Gradually they mastered the Czech language to perfection, and one of their number, John Végh, even produced not insignificant literary works in it. Several of the families also of these Hungarian ministers struck roots in their new country (e. g. the Tardys, Szalatnais, etc.) and yielded to it a valuable lineage of sons and daughters.

This whole act of helpfulness on the part of the Reformed Hungarians is the more significant, as the Hungarians and the Czechs were divided as nations even then by a clash of political interests dating back for centuries, which however were superseded on this occasion by a spirit of Christian fellowship and service.

V.

HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM AND EVANGELICAL CATHOLICITY

(1. Relations between the Protestant Churches. — 2. Protestants and Roman Catholics. — 3. Protestant Evangelization in the Greek Orthodox Roumanian Church. — 4. Hungarian Protestantism and Foreign Missions)

In this last chapter we shall try to answer briefly the question how Hungarian Protestantism strove to approach, in the course of its history, the unity of all believers in Christ, i. e. the true ideal of Evangelical Catholicity, obligatory upon all Christians of all ages, — and that partly by a cultivation and strengthening of the brotherly relationships between the Protestant Churches themselves, partly by showing goodwill and rendering services to non-protestant Christian churches, and partly by sharing in the missionary cause among the non-Christian people.

1. Relation between the Protestant Churches.

The bitter controversies and exclusive doctrinal tendencies displayed in connection with the confessional separation during the XVIth. century (aggravated also by certain political and racial antagonisms, as shown above) rendered the relationships between the Protestant Churches rather strained and cold in Hungary too in the beginning. But even at the time of the strongest estrangement there were a number of theologians, especially in the Reformed Church, who, faithful to the noblest traditions of the unionistic spirit of Bucer, Melanchthon and Calvin, worked with all their strength for an ending or at least moderation of inter-denominational hostilities. They were the enthusiastic followers of the irenic theological school represented abroad chiefly by the above already mentioned *David Pareus* (Wängler), professor of Heidelberg and the most prominent reformed theologian of his times (died in 1622). This great scholar stood in exceedingly high esteem with his Hungarian students at Heidelberg and with the whole Hungarian Protestant theological world of his day. His most outstanding Hungarian followers were *John Samarjai*, Reformed bishop (died after 1647) and *Peter Alvinczy*, the great „Hungarian minister" of Kassa (died in 1634) one of the most worthy literary champions in the encounters with the spiritual leader of the Hungarian Counter-Reformation, the Jesuit Cardinal-Primate Peter

Pármány. These two men did all in their power to lessen the rather embittered theological opposition between the two Protestant Churches, and to heal the painful wounds caused by the great split. Samarjai, in his book entitled, „Hungarian Harmony", tried to prove „the concordant sense of the articles of the Augustan and Helvetic Confessions", and Alvinczy, preaching the „one true Biblical religion", declared of himself: „I am not a Calvinist, nor am I a Lutheran for I have learned so much from the writings of Saint Paul that we must not call ourselves after either Apollos or Cephas, but that we are named true Christians after our Lord Jesus Christ." Their endeavours were not very successful however, either in the Reformed or in the Lutheran Church, and it was only in the highest leading circles that they met with a favourable reception. Alvinczy's great patron, e. g. Prince Gabriel Bethlen, was himself an ardent admirer of Pareus carrying on an intimate correspondence with him, confessing that he is „perusing day and night" his great work entitled „Irenicum". It was evidently under the influence of Pareus that Bethlen had planned, during the last months of his life to gather the Lutheran and Reformed ministers of Transylvania and other parts of Hungary to something like a great united national synod. This gathering was held at Nagyvárad although on a much more modest scale than planned originally, and participating ministers of both denominatons found unanimity in their common stand against the threatening Counter-Reformation. Prince George Rákóczy I. much stricter in his Reformed confessionalism was nevertheless similarly friendly in his attitude towards the ideal of Protestant unity. It was during his reign that *John Dury* (Duraeus) the Scottish minister untiring in his zeal for Protestant union, made his exertions all over Europe. Rákóczy followed these endeavours with deeply sympathetic interest, just as did his great contemporaries Oxenstierna, the chancellor of Sweden, and later Cromwell, and was supported in this by the favouring opinions of his Hungarian and German theological advisers. On the other hand Dury, too, and his fellow workers laid great store upon the winning over of the Transylvanian Prince to their cause.

Much more effective, however, than such endeavours, were the common sufferings that bound the hearts of Reformed and Lutheran together. Their ministers had to endure inhuman imprisonment and tortures together (especially during the „dark decade", but quite often also before and after it); together they had to pull the oars amidst unspeakably cruel conditions on the galleys of Naples; together they roamed as exiles and together they enjoyed the hospitality and support of Reformed and Lutheran states and churches. They had as much reason as also occasion to follow the wise warning addressed to them by Admiral de Ruyter when setting them free from the chains of the galleys: *„You see, you will be crushed by your common enemy if now instead of agreeing you will contend with one another"*. And at home the Lutheran and Reformed congre-

gations living in the same community, while accustomed to worship God in separate buildings, learned to meet peacefully together for divine service in the same wooden barn when robbed of their churches. These were beginnings already in the XVIIth. century, but during the XVIIIth. century it became a rule with the Reformed and Lutheran churches to make common cause in their defence and to proceed in joint action in the Parliament and at the Vienna Court against the oppressive church politics of the State. This need for joint defensive action afterwards led to some measure of cooperation in other fields as well. Especially in matters of church-constitution and organization attempts were made repeatedly proposing the creation of a common highest court or council for both churches, as there had been several cases where Reformed congregatons lived under Lutheran government and vice versa even during the preceding century, after the confessional and denominational separation. It was just with a view to secure such close cooperation that in 1791, after the reinstitution of their legal rights of religious liberty, the two Protestant Churches of Hungary outside of Transylvania chose the same time and almost the same place (the Reformed in Buda and the Lutherans in Pest, the two cities not being united at that time) for holding their great synods which were to settle the problems of an up-to-date church constitution. These synods adopted for both churches essentially the same „synodal-presbyterian" type of church-organization (using as their pattern the rather imperfect church constitution of the „dissenter" churches of Poland) and incorporated also in their legislation the establishment of a common highest church council, which, however, could never become a reality, sharing in this the fate of many other resolutions passed by these synods.

During the forties of the XIXth. century, especially under the influence of the example of the German church-union in 1817, very lively discussions were aroused also in Hungary by a movement for organic church-union among the Protestants. The idea was proposed first by an enthusiastic Lutheran magnate, Count *Charles Zay*, in 1841 and found whole-hearted support among Lutheran leaders of Hungarian nationality who expected a strengthening of national unity from such a church-union. Among others Louis Kossuth too advocated the idea and placed his very influential political daily paper most readily at the disposal of all parties for a discussion on the subject. On the Reformed side the scheme found its most prominent champion in *Andrew Fáy*, one of the weightiest leading personalities among the laity, a man thoroughly versed in rationalistic theology and widely respected as a belletrist and writer on national economy. Many endorsed the idea of Church union as referring merely to matters of organization, in accordance with the mentioned previous endeavours in this direction, while others meant to extend it to matters of doctrine and form of worship as well. The preparatory discussions went on year after year, but finally the movement got stranded. The agitations of the rapidly ripening great political changes of 1848

were bound to absorb too much of the interest of the Protestant leaders, always very actively involved in political affairs, to leave over enough for this problem. Besides, the zealous advocates of the idea of union, both among ministers and laymen, were deficient in psychological insight; neither as sons of their rationalistic age were they sufficiently equipped as to scholarship in dogmatic and historical matters, to be able to grasp and to overcome the immense difficulties involved in their proposal. In addition to these impediments, racial rivalries interfered: especially the group among the Slovak Lutherans that was inspired by Pan-Slavic ideals, suspected that a union, in however moderate a form, with the pure Hungarian masses of the Reformed Church would lead to a suppression of all non-Hungarian elements in the United Church, and would consequently set back also the Slovak national aspirations which were rising consciously also in their church's life. On these grounds therefore they went into a most resolute opposition against the union-movement. On the other hand the conservative bulk of the Reformed Church too, living in great masses on the Hungarian plains and not conscious of any need of the support of the other weaker party, was not desirous at its heart for a union.

Conditions in the second half of the XIXth. century were still less favourable for the promotion of union in the proper sense. The relationships between the various nationalities of Hungary had become so embittered since the events of 1848—49 that for this reason alone all attempts at union were out of question. But a union in a broader and freer sense was nevertheless, and is still being, practised by the Hungarian Lutherans and Reformed, not only in the way of church-political actions mostly undertaken unitedly, but also in social, and especially in cultural, literary and scientific activities. Mention has been made already of the „Union of Protestants" and the „Hungarian Protestant Literary Society" as common agencies of Protestantism. There has been, and still is in existence a number of united Protestant local congregations; a joint Protestant secondary school was maintained, now belonging to Czechoslovakia (in the town of Rimaszombat — Rimavska-Sabota); and for a whole decade after its foundation (1855—1865) the Theological Academy of Budapest, now belonging to the Reformed Church, functioned as a common Protestant institution. The first Hungarian Protestant Church periodical, the „Protestant Church and School News" was founded in 1842 directly with the purpose of promoting common Protestant interest and ideas, and more particularly the mentioned union-scheme; its founders were *Paul Török,* the prominent Reformed minister of Budapest, later bishop, a fervent believer in union, having also a lion's share in the establishment of the mentioned Budapest college, and his Lutheran colleague, *Joseph Székács,* also minister in Budapest and later bishop, distinguishing himself also as a belletrist. (The periodical started by them lived on, with an interruption of a decade during the absolutist regime

following the rising under Kossuth, up to the end of the Great War, although assuming an almost entirely Reformed character lately). United efforts were, and still are, made by the two Protestant churches for the spiritual care and religious instruction of their scattered adherents. In their schools they are legally free to employ teachers belonging to the other denominations, and occasionally do so. Marriages of members of the two Protestant Churches are not regarded as mixed marriages, etc. A joint participation of their members in the free Evangelical movements likewise contributed to a deepening of the fellowship between the two sister-churches.

Between the Reformed and Lutheran churches on the one hand and the Unitarian Church on the other hand there have not developed relationships of the same intimate nature. The doctrinal chasm separating them was too deep for this, even at the time when Unitarianism still lived in its more moderate form of Socinianism (abandoned long ago) acknowledging Christ as an object of worship and invocation. For, apart from its rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity, also the conception of Unitarianism concerning divine grace and human free-will in their relationship to one another, widely differed from those of the classic teaching of the Reformation both Lutheran and Calvinistic. This was mainly the reason why Unitarianism, which soon began to dwindle in numbers anyway after the first flourish of its appearance, was never regarded with favour by the other two Protestant churches, and that not only in the Hungary outside of Transylvania (where after its failure to strike roots in the XVIth. century, it practically disappeared up to most recent times), but also in Transylvania itself, where, as we have seen, the Unitarian church enjoyed the same legally granted rights of liberty and self-government as the other churches ever since the XVIth. century. As the Transylvanian State and the Reformed Church, holding a leading position in it, had laid also the blame for the Sabbatist-movement at the doors of Unitarianism, the severe measures taken against this sect came to affect also the life of the Unitarian Church to a certain extent. Thus e. g. a part of the Unitarian congregations among the Székelys was placed under Reformed church-government and remained there for a long time. After Transylvania had come, however, under Habsburg rule, the hostile church policies of this reign weighed heavily upon all the three Protestant Churches without difference, and as a consequence the need for a common defence brought them nearer to one another and removed the bitterness of their former antagonism. Still more was done in this direction by the spreading spirit of rationalism, the influences of which led many educated persons, especially laymen, in the Reformed and Lutheran churches to a pronounced sympathy towards Unitarianism. But these sympathies never gave rise, not even in times when rationalism was in its fullest flourish, to anything of a union-movement with the Unitarians such as has been recorded above between the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches. The only exception as to an

attempt at a more intimate cooperation, occurred in connection with the mentioned „Union of Protestants", referring chiefly to activities in the literary and scientific field; but when this organization broke up and the Hungarian Protestant Literary Society was founded to take its place, the views of those prevailed who did not regard a cooperation with the Unitarians as desirable. Since that time the relationships of the two other Protestant denominations with the Unitarians are limited, on the basis of their common stand against Rome and for liberty of religion, to occasional joint action in matters of church politics and to a common sharing of the benefits of the Baldácsy-foundation, to which is added in Transylvania, where even now the bulk of Hungarian Unitarianism lives, a common stand for the principles of religious liberalism and a united struggle for Hungarian national interests.

2. Protestants and Roman Catholics.

Roman Catholic Christianity and its powerful State-church in Hungary was necessarily regarded by the Hungarian Protestants throughout the centuries as an enemy, for the historical reasons described above. A spirit of Christian fellowship could therefore not easily arise between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Yet there were a few among the Hungarian Protestants who followed with lively interest and certain expectations those negotiations about the end of the XVIth. century which aimed at a „reunion" of Roman Catholic and Protestant. The most outstanding figures in these deliberations going on abroad and following up the suggestions of Hugo Grotius and George Calixtus, were, on the side of the Protestants the great German philosopher *Leibnitz* (who in his universal outlook upon the world found a place in his sympathies not only for the Roman Catholics, but for Unitarians on the other extreme as well) and *Gerhardus Molanus,* (Lutheran) the abbot of Lokham; while on the Roman Catholic side the great *Bossuet* and especially a very clever and agile Franciscan monk named *Christopher Rojas de Spinola* stood in the foreground. The negotiations were held partly at the Court of Emperor Leopold I. also King of Hungary, with whom Spinola had considerable influence as his confessant-priest. But these endeavours were doomed to failure, because, — to mention only one reason, — it was just under the reign of this ruler that the most cruel persecutions were in process against the Protestants in Hungary.

Later, with the spreading of Enlightenment, the situation improved somewhat. An increasing number of Roman Catholic laymen arose, especially among political leaders, who learned to esteem the Protestant Churches especially for their national and cultural services, and who stood up for the legal rights of Protestantism even before Parliament, so that when after long struggles the principle of equality and reciprocity among all Christian denominations was incorporated in the laws of 1848, it was largely due, as a matter of

fact, to the untiring parliamentary activities of Roman Catholic politicians. (Such a friendly attitude, by the way, was not unknown among Roman Catholic leaders of earlier days when not even the spirit of Enlightenment had affected minds. Thus, in the case of the noble minded leader of the last Hungarian rising against the Habsburgs before Kossuth, Prince Francis Rákóczy II. born as a Roman Catholic after the conversion of his family; a devout son of his Church — though leaning towards Jansenism in later years, — he nevertheless fought for the religious liberties of the Hungarian Protestants with heart and soul.) It was also chiefly due to the influences of Enlightenment that during the second-half of the XVIIIth. and the first-half of the XIXth. centuries many Hungarian Protestants began to look upon the doctrinal differences separating them from Roman Catholicism in a far less rigid spirit than did their forefathers, and that, on the other hand, both in the higher and the lower clergy of the Roman Church also a more tolerant spirit began, if not to prevail, to spread (especially after the dissolution of the Jesuit Order). A number of books written by Austrian Roman Catholic priests and professors in the interest of toleration, were translated and published in Hungary by Protestant ministers and professors. In many devout Protestants these influences intermingled with that of Pietism which meant to find in the love of the common Saviour a sufficiently strong sentimental basis for fellowship with the Roman Catholics. The above mentioned great devotional writer, *George Szikszai* e. g. betrays evident signs of such irenic tendencies in his books in spite of his determined loyalty to his Reformed Faith and Church, so that his famous prayer-book could find a certain entrance even among Roman Catholics at one time. In later years the spirit of romanticism led many educated Protestants to judge more impartially, or even favourably, of Roman Catholicism. A Reformed minister, named Gedeon Deáky, although remaining a member and a minister of his Church till his death, under the protection of his influential patrons, even wrote a book in praise of Pope Pius VI. suffering captivity under Napoleon I. (1814—1815), and displayed cryptocatholic tendencies in general.

Prince Francis Rákóczy II.

The spirit of romanticism, especially after the Napoleonic wars, tended all over Europe towards a higher estimation of Roman Catho-

licism on the part of many educated Protestants who were willing to some extent at least to adopt the view, that after all, Roman Catholicism is the surest foundation and safeguard of social and political order in a world shaken and thrown out of gear by upheaval. On the grounds of this changed outlook the idea of Roman Catholic-Protestant „reunion" was taken up again, in the first quarter of last century, in Germany, Austria and Hungary as well. An Austrian priest, named August Hille published a book under the title: „Shall the wall of partition which separates Protestants from Roman Catholics, continue to stand", a Hungarian translation of which, published in 1822 gave occasion to an interesting literary debate. Hille, quite naturally, thought of, and proposed, a „reunion" in the sense of a „return" of the Protestants to the Roman Church holding out to them in exchange certain concessions in matters of form of worship, discipline and church-organisation as have been granted to the Greek Uniates. On the part of the Hungarian Protestants these suggestions were answered with a vigorous refusal, voiced most courageously, although in a perfectly sympathetic and tactful spirit, by *Gabriel Báthory,* the distinguished Reformed minister of Pest, in his „Sermons on Tolerance". Yet it was characteristic of the spirit of the times, that there were found even among Protestant writers some who did not adopt this attitude of definite refusal towords the idea of „reunion". One of them, a Reformed minister named *Stephen Vámosi Pap* even elaborated a fantastic scheme for its execution (1823) in a rationalistic spirit, earning thereby the rebuke of his church-courts. Somewhat later also the Reformed Francis Kölcsey, writer of the Hungarian national anthem, expressed views of almost zealous admiration about Roman Catholicism, especially from the point of view of romantic aestheticism.

Such voices, — sporadic and harmless otherwise — disappeared and reappeared again according to the strengthening or weakening of the aggressive spirit of ultramontanism during the last hundred years, instigated chiefly by the re-established Order of the Jesuits and supported by the Habsburg court and a part of the Roman Catholic aristocracy. This rise and fall of a spirit of intolerance occurred several times during these hundred years, in an almost rhythmical fashion, and accordingly interdenominational peace and friendship between Protestants and Roman Catholice has been rather intermittent up to this day.

3. Protestant Evangelization in the Greek Orthodox Roumanian Church.

The greater part of the non-Hungarian races, which in the course of the centuries have settled in the Northeastern and Southeastern districts of pre-war Hungary, as the Ruthenians (or Roussins), the Roumanians and the Serbians, were followers of Greek Orthodox Christianity. And so they remain up to this day with the

exception of those among them who, while retaining their former rites, church-organization and orders, yet accepted the supremacy of the Pope and the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church (thus assuming the name of „Roman Catholic following the Greek rites" or more briefly „Greek Catholics"). Greek Orthodox Christianity, on account of its extreme ritualism, is, of course, as widely separated from Protestantism as is Roman Catholic Christianity with its extremely sacerdotalistic and legalistic spirit. Still there are certain features, even though rather on the surface of things, yet highly important from a historical point of view, which offer themselves as natural points of contact between the two types of Christianity. Such are e. g. the refusal to acknowledge papal supremacy; the use of both elements in the Holy Supper; the marriage of priests; the use of a non-Latin and partly the vernacular language in worship; and even certain features in church-government and organization. In times when Protestantism was compelled to seek allies against the aggressive political powers of Roman Catholicism, such points of agreement acquired a great importance and even outweighed, for the time being, the underlying differences of a much more essential nature.

As early as during the first years of the Reformation, suggestions and schemes arose as to a more intimate intercourse, a closer cooperation, and even a union as between the Protestant and the Greek Orthodox Churches. Some of the German theologians with Melanchthon at their head approached the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah, with this end in view, but without success. In the XVIIth. century the spirit of Geneva began to attract Cyril Lukarius Patriarch of Constantinople, leading him to take serious steps in preparations for a union, and among other things also to carry on negotiations with Prince Gabriel Bethlen concerning a mission among the Roumanians, of which more will be said later; but in 1635 he was strangled by an order of the Sultan as a result of the Jesuits' plottings. In Hungary families belonging to Greek Orthodox nationalities frequently sent their sons to Protestant schools and colleges, especially since the XVIIIth century. And when the idea of a Protestant college to be erected in Pest was discussed for the first time, in 1791, the leaders of the Protestants themselves had the intention of establishing this institution in cooperation with the Greek Orthodox elements of Hungary. Such sympathies of Hungarian Protestants towards the Greek Orthodox were partly due to the circumstance that up to 1848 the Greek Orthodox religion and church had not enjoyed even as much of legal rights in Hungary as did the Protestants themselves (having the position merely of a „tolerated" confession). The repeatedly mentioned scholarly Reformed minister of Debrecen, Emeric *Révész*, expressed the view even in the seventies of the last century, that it would be desirable „if the interests and aspirations of all non-Roman Catholic denominations in the country would be united at least from the point of view, and in the service, of church-politics".

Apart from the expansive spiritual energies of Hungarian Protestantism in its youthful prime, it was largely a result of these sympathies that from the middle of the XVIth. century for almost one century and a half a series of attempts were made at the Evangelization of the Roumanians (Walachians) of Transylvania, with the end in view of winning them for the spirit and ultimately for the churches of Protestantism. The Roumanians, the first documentary evidence of whose settlement in Transylvania dates from 1222, were living at the time of the Reformation, socially, in the state of a semi-nomadic shepherd-people, while from the point of view of religion they were half pagan. Greek Orthodox Christianity had affected them merely on the surface and beneath its externalism a primitive cult of charms and incantations and magic lived on as a real religion of the people, betraying also unmistakeable traces of gloomy oriental Manichaeist influences (brought along on their way through the Balkans), and busying itself at least as much about the Devil („Draku") as about the Triune God of Christians. The Hungarian Churches of the Reformation were the first to bring the light of the pure Gospel to this spiritually neglected and darkened people. Missionary activities among them were begun by the Lutheran Church of the „Saxons" in Transylvania as early as in the forties of the XVIth. century. As a result of these endeavours soon also a religious literature, Protestant in its spirit, arose in the Roumanian language (translations of part of the Bible, etc), enriched also by born Roumanian writers, as Coresi, priest of Tirgoviste, and others. When the Reformed Church rose to leadership in the political and social life of Transylvania these missionary activities were taken over by her. The legislation of Transylvania gave permission to the Roumanians who accepted the Reformed Faith, to organize a separate church for themselves under a bishop of their own election. Especially among the Roumanians of a higher social standing there was a growing number of those who „listened to the Word of God as preached in their own tongue", and who introduced into their liturgy the singing of the Reformed Psalter and other hymns translated into their language. This had a considerable importance also from the point of view of the awakening of their national consciousness and the beginnings of their national culture, since formerly the Old-Slavic—Bulgarian liturgical language and the Cyrillic alphabet had been in use in the religious literature of this originally Latin people. During the XVIIth. century these missionary efforts were effectively supported by the Reformed Princes of Transylvania. No hasty changes were forced as to doctrines, ritual or church-organization, but rather a slow and patient spiritual transformation of the clergy and the people was aimed at through the means of schools, literature and the press. The Princes as also other high-standing Reformed landlords of Transylvania contributed financially a great deal towards this end, establishing printing-presses, caring for translations and publications of the New Testament, the Psalter, the Heidel-

berg Catechism and other religious literature for the use of Roumanians. Princess Suzanne Lorántffy established a school for them at Fogaras, others did the same in other places. The preamble of the foundation letter of the Princess runs as follows: „Be it known to all that as we account and hold the protection and the advancement of the worship of God as our first duty, and the common weal as next to it, having learned of the immense measure of ignorance in which the whole Roumanian nation in these our estates of Fogaras are living, and that both the common people as also the bojárs among them (i. e. the wealthier and higher-standing class of Roumanians), yea, even those whose offices it would be to instruct the others; having been also approached by the more enlightened among them: moved by Christian compassion we have ordered that in this city of ours, Fogaras, a school be established and built for them..." The document ends with the following passage: „All these laws and regulations therefore, as being in no way contrary to either the common weal or the laws of the country, but on the other hand most necessary to the glory of God and the edification of the Roumanian nation,... both in their entirety and in their articles, we herewith approve and ratify jure perpetuo".

These hopeful beginnings found an end however when the Protestant principality of Transylvania ceased to exist. And the time between was too short to allow for results of any consequence. The bulk of the Roumanian clergy, making their living out of the superstitiousness of their flock, resisted as a rule even the most tactful attempts of evangelistic work among them. And when the Habsburgs came to power in Transylvania during the last decades of the XVIIIth. century their policies were directed, naturally, not towards a continuation of these evangelistic efforts, but towards a union of the Greek Orthodox with the Roman Church, which they succeeded in forcing through with about the half of the Roumanians of Transylvania through the services of the Jesuits. As a consequence of this the Reformed Churches among the Roumanians which had sprung up and flourished in various part of Transylvania, soon disappeared again. Yet some of the influences of Reformed Christianity lived on among the Roumanians and even Roumanian scholars of an unbiassed judgment are ready to acknowledge gratefully the services of Protestantism in the interests of their literary language and national spirit, as also in the shaping of the constitution of the Roumanian Greek Orthodox Church.

4. Hungarian Protestantism and Foreign Missions.

It has to be admitted regretfully that in the great field of Christian missions among non-Christian people Hungarian Protestantism stands as last among practically all Protestant Churches and nations of the whole world. In the more distant past it was hindered in going out into this field of service through its age-long struggles, both internal and external, and by the ensuing exhaustion

of its material and spritiual strength. As a matter of fact even the Protestant Churches of the Western nations did not render any important and lasting missionary service during the first two centuries after the Reformation, hindered very largely by the same reasons. After the ending of the Turkish wars the life of Hungary became very much isolated from that of the wide world, and even later the country had no overseas interests and even scarcely any communication with distant lands. The spirit of rationalism too, as we have seen, was regnant for an exceptionally long time just among the leading circles of Hungarian Protestantism, and this spirit was not favourable for an awakening of missionary zeal. Pietism and the succeeding movement of revival, on the other hand, which did most in other countries for giving birth to the great Protestant missionary enterprises, were never able to capture Hungarian Protestantism in its entirety. The first man exerting himself in Hungary in the interest of foreign mission, was *August Gottlieb Wimmern,* the distinguished Lutheran minister and founder of schools (who having been an ardent follower of Kossuth, had to take refuge in England and America after 1849, and died in 1863). It was from his congregation that a missionary, Samuel Böhm, went out to Africa, dying there in 1859, as the first missionary-martyr of the Protestants of Hungary. The Scottish Mission at Budapest dating from 1841, besides carrying on its work among the Jews, with notable results, as to numbers, and more particularly as to the value of its converts, was at the same time instrumental in awakening interest among Hungarians in the cause of foreign missions. After the seventies the matter of foreign missions was taken up regularly by the religious press. The free religious movements especially, all of them, tried to awaken a sense of responsibility for the missionary cause. In 1903 a „Hungarian Evangelical Christian Missionary Union" was formed out of the missionary committee of the Young Men's Christian Association of Budapest. Another missionary organization, of a denominational character, was formed in the Lutheran Church (in 1909). The Hungarian Student Christian Movement especially deserves mention for cultivating a missionary interest with a great deal of enthusiasm and with wide vision. During the last years several candidates for foreign missionary work, especially women, presented themselves for training. Perodicals arose for the propagation of missionary ideals. The interest of the great masses, however, of Church members towards the missionary cause is still very far from being satisfactory. Yet there are encouraging signs which hold out the promise that within a not too distant future Hungarian Protestantism will add a new chapter to the history of foreign missions, not unworthy of its achievments in the past in other fields, especially in the way of evangelizing the Jews and the Turanic races related to Hungarians, as also by taking up some of the possibilities and responsibilities for evangelization, which lie geographically nearest to Hungary's doors.

II.

HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM TODAY

by

REV. PRINCIPAL J. S. KOVÁTS, LL. D., PH. D.

HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM TODAY.

In giving a description of present day Hungarian Protestantism we wish to deal with the subject under the following headings:

I. The constitution of the Hungarian Protestant Churches, i. e., the framework within which they live their life.

II. The relationships between the different denominations, as based upon the Hungarian state laws regulating interconfessional relationships.

III. The educational institutions of Hungarian Protestantism in their present situation.

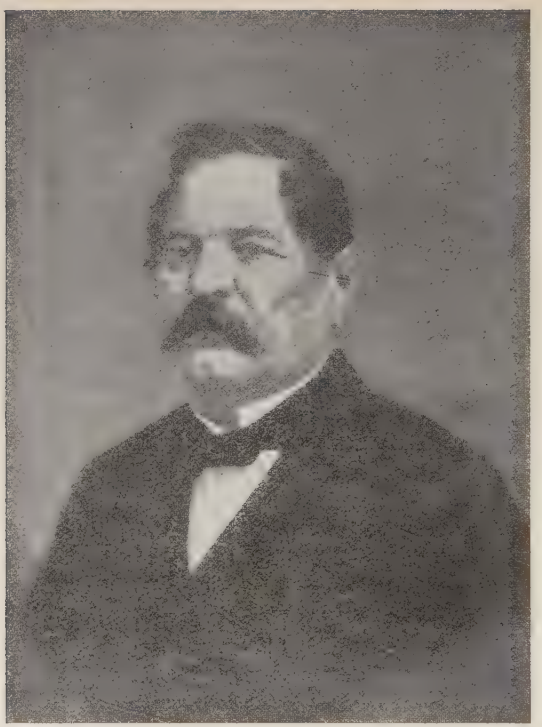
IV. The numerical status of Hungarian Protestantism, with a special view also to the losses suffered in consequence of Hungary's dismemberment. And lastly,

V. The inner life of present-day Hungarian Protestantism, its form of worship and observances, its specific religious activities.

At the first glance the subject mentioned under III., the educational system of Hungarian Protestantism, will stand out in the eyes of a foreign reader. Let it be pointed out at once that of all evangelical churches of the whole world Hungarian Protestants have maintained most tenaciously the educational traditions of Protestantism and as a consequence Protestant denominational schools are formed in the largest number in Hungary today.

When speaking of church-constitution, educational institutions, statistical numbers and inner church-life, we shall do so primarily with respect to the Hungarian Reformed (Presbyterian) Church, which constitutes three quarters of Hungarian Protestantism, taking into a secondary account the Lutheran Evangelical Church of Hungary, which amounts, in numbers, to about a third of the former, and

Edmund Beöthy
Roman Catholic champion of Protestant rights.



Baron Antony Baldácsy
Roman Cath. donor to Hungarian Protestantism.

dealing still more briefly with the Hungarian Unitarian Church which is rather insignificant as to numerical strength and has an interest more from a historical point of view. Lastly we shall just touch upon those denominations which, numbering only very few adherents, have until now acquired no importance for the life of Hungary as a whole, such as Baptists, Methodists, Nazarenes, Seventh-day Adventists, Millennists.

Speaking generally, Hungarian Protestants are characterized by a deep-rooted loyalty to their historic churches. This is the outcome of the hard and often bloody struggles of the past centuries. Even if no ties of sincere religious convictions bind them to their churches, as is often the case, they still cling to them out of a pious respect towards their ancestors who have suffered so much for their faith. Nothing bears a stronger testimony to the force of such traditional attachment than the way in which even members of the Roman Catholic Church, of an unbiassed mind and of an outlook transcending the narrow limits of denominationalism, have frequently displayed their appreciation of the Protestant churches. There were times in the history of Hungary when broadminded leading men of the Roman Catholic nobility fought in the first ranks for a recognition

of those legal rights of the Protestant Churches which they had attained through hard struggles, i. e., for their equal status within the nation with that of Roman Catholicism, so e. g., Alois *Batthyány* during the Parliament of 1790/91 and Edmund *Beöthy* during the Parliaments of the forties of the last century. When the uprising for liberty under Louis *Kossuth* in 1848/49 had been defeated with the help of the Russian forces, and the Austrian politicians were about to strike a final blow at the national resistance of Hungary by depriving the Protestant Churches of their autonomy, the whole nation stood as one man in defence of the endangered interests of the Protestant Churches. This respect towards the Protestant Churches, as guardians of the interests of the whole nation, found expression in a remarkable way when Baron Antony *Baldácsy*, a Roman Catholic aristocrat, bequeathed his whole fortune amounting to 7586 acres *) of land to the Protestant Churches, thus becoming their greatest donor, second only to the great reformed princes of Transylvania, Gabriel *Bethlen* and the *Rákóczys*. Another Roman Catholic magnate, Count George *Festetich* became the founder of the reformed secondary-school at Csurgó in 1794. If the historic Hungarian Protestant Churches, so closely identified with the cause of the whole nation in her age-long struggles, could elicit such an admiring attachment even on the part of members of other denominations, it is no wonder that their own members cling to them with deep affection and are not easily drawn away by other Protestant denominations recently propagated in Hungary.

Reformed secondary boy's-school of Csurgó
founded by the Roman Cath. Count Festetich.

*) One acre = 2 1/8 English Imperial acres.

I.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE HUNGARIAN PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

Hungarian mentality is distinguished by a strong tendency for legal forms. It has been said that Hungarians are a nation of lawyers. This explains why only few Protestant Churches in other countries can exhibit church-laws that would equal those of the Hungarian Protestant Churches in fullness and thoroughness. It must be admitted with regret that during the decades behind us this legal aspect of church-life even began to outgrow the spiritual side of it. Recently however a wholesome reaction has set in and the essentially spiritual nature of the churches is shining out with increasing clearness through the meshes of legal regulations.

There are three characteristic features in the constitutions of the historic Protestant Churches of Hungary.

One is found in the fact that *no Hungarian Protestant Church has developed its constitution entirely true to type.* The Calvinistic Church has retained a number of Lutheran features, and the Lutheran Church is largely Presbyterian, from the point of view of constitution. The author of the historical section of this book has pointed out already that the Reformed Church in Hungary had built up her organization essentially in accordance with that of the Lutheran Church, imitating on the whole the pattern of the consistorial-superintendental system prevailing in the German Empire, although with an entire exclusion of the „summus episcopatus" as held by the German rulers. This was due to the circumstance that Hungary was first won for the earlier, Lutheran type of the Reformation and only later, during the second half of the XVIth. century did the Swiss, Calvinistic Reformation win over almost the entirety of the pure Hungarian population. This became a fact for the upper Tisza-district at the synod held at Tarcal in 1562; for Transylvania at the synod held at Nagyenyed in 1564; for the district to the East of the Tisza at the synod held at Debrecen in 1567; for the lower Danubian district at the synod held at Hercegszőllős in 1576, and for the upper Danubian district at the colloquy held at Csepreg in 1591. When accepting however the Calvinistic type of the Reformation these churches did not adopt at the same time its form of government, since the formation of the kirk-sessions that would have been involved in it, could not be carried out especially because of the existing feudal

conditions. Only from the middle of the XVIIth. century kirk-sessions come to be organized struggling with great difficulties and only during the course of the XVIIIth. century did they become prevalent. Another factor contributing towards the appearance of Lutheran elements in the constitution of the Hungarian Reformed Church, was the circumstance, that in Transylvania, the main stronghold of Hungarian Calvinism, the ruling princes themselves were mostly members of the Reformed Church, which thus rose to a position more or less of a state-church, in spite of the laws passed by the Transylvanian Parliament in the second half of the XVIth. century, assuring to all denominations perfect liberty of religion. The patronate of the ruler however, and a consistory, functioning as the ruler's council in ecclesiastical matters, are essentially features of the Lutheran type of church-government. The Lutheran Church of Hungary, on the other hand, came to adopt the purely Calvinistic system of kirk-session, especially after this system had become prevalent in the Reformed Church itself. This was due to the circumstance, that both churches had to fight alike for their recognition and their rights; the Lutheran Church had no ruler as its patron, not even temporarily, and thus a cardinal condition of the formation of a typical Lutheran church-government was wanting. Since 1774 the Lutheran Church elects a distinguished layman among her members to function instead of a patron as a „general chief-inspector of church and school affairs". As a result the Reformed Church, to this day, bears certain marks reminding one of the German „Landeskirche", while the Lutheran Church is at least as much Presbyterian in her constitution, as consistorial, if not more so. This explains the interesting tendency, found in certain circles of the Hungarian Lutheran Church, to desire for an organic affiliation with the worldwide family of churches holding the presbyterian system.

A second characteristic feature in the constitution of the Hungarian Protestant Churches consists in the *perfect parity in the place given to the clergy and the lay-element in all church-courts.* Even the presidency is a double one, in almost all church-courts, there being a minister and a laymen as co-presidents. An exception to this rule is made only in smaller places, where the position of the „chief-curator", as the lay-president is called, cannot be filled through lack of sufficiently educated church-members, and only a „curator" is elected. In such cases the minister presides alone over the kirk-session. In all the higher courts however, in the seniorates, the church-districts, the general conventus and the synod, the system of a twofold presidency is carried through. Such parity between the clergy and the lay-element may be regarded as a compromise reached after prolonged struggles. In the beginning the principle of „cuius regio, eius religio", although never incorporated in any law, nevertheless ruled in practice generally also in Hungary, and the nobility owning the territory had mostly a decisive word to say in matters of the church. When the power of the landlords began to decline and kirk-sessions began to be organized everywhere, especially in the district beyond

the Tisza, the clergy made an attempt to grasp the leadership of the church and to exclude an interference of the lay-element in the assignment of charges. This contest came to an end with a stormy „case" (known as the „Sinai-case") in which the clergy suffered defeat. The winning lay-element was in danger of driving the situation again into the opposite extreme and at the constituent synod held at Buda in 1791, the attempt was made to adopt a church-constitution after the pattern of the canons of the Polish dissident churches, which involved an assured supremacy of the lay-element. Finally a peaceful settlement was found in the introduction of the perfect parity of the clergy and the lay-element throughout all the church-courts.

A third characteristic feature of the constitution of the Hungarian Protestant Churches consists in their peculiar relation to the State. For several decades *they have been neither „free churches", nor „state-* (established) *churches"* in the strict sense of these names; *they are state-subsidized autonomous churches.* As to their historical development, their organization and their inner life, they are „free churches"; as to their relationship to the State however, they are in a certain measure „state- (established) churches".

Throughout the centuries the Hungarian Protestant Churches were entirely self-supporting. They were robbed of their church-buildings and their schools by the hundreds: ever and again they replaced their losses by their own strength. The landlords were not asked by the local congregations to erect new buildings instead of the lost ones, but only to grant sites on which the congregation itself could build. Their schools also received help at the best from fellow-believers abroad in cases of extraordinary emergency, as e. g. the colleges of Debrecen and Nagyenyed. Only the churches in Transylvania enjoyed the support of their rulers for about a century and a half, but even there they had to stand on their own feet after 1690, when Transylvania too came under the rule of the Habsburgs. During the times of persecution the churches were necessarily „free churches". But with the XIXth. century a more liberal age dawned. In the parliaments of the forties of this century even Roman Catholic politicians stood up not only for the liberty but also for the state-support of the Protestant churches on the basis of their perfect equality with the Roman Catholic Church. And the legislation of 1848 closed the gulf that existed between the Protestant Churches and the Hungarian State for centuries, by declaring in its article XX. point 2, that „with respect to all religious denominations received in this country perfect equality and reciprocity is established". Point 3, in the same article opens the sluices of financial state-support by declaring that „the church and school expenses of all received („recepta") denominations shall be covered by the budget of the State and the minister of church and school affairs shall present to the next legislation a detailed bill on the basis of this principle and after consultation with the respective denominations". Consequently the comissioned minister called together a conference for Sept. 1, 1848, to

discuss the carrying out in practice of the article XX. 1848, (attended also by representatives from Transylvania) and an amount of 1.250,000 crowns (250,000 dollars) was actually incorporated in the State budget of 1848, for the purpose in question. The ensuing troubled times however, the 18 years of absolutistic rule especially which followed upon the defeat of the war for Hungary's freedom, made an end to all progress in this direction.

After the constitutional settlement in the „agreement" of 1867, the State, having its basis in a partnership with Austria, had to face the opposition of the Protestants, especially of the pure Hungarian Calvinists who still stood for a perfect independence of Hungary. A policy of enticements was therefore inaugurated in the form of state-grants for the Protestant Churches. On the whole, the policies of the governments of those times were directed towards the establishment of state-supremacy in every field; an almost Napoleonic tendency of centralization prevailed. First the self-government of the counties was attacked and their autonomy reduced to an almost nominal one. Then the industrial life of Hungary was developed on a great scale by state-subsidies, and a powerful machinery of state officialdom was organized: the State became almost entirely bureaucratized. And after having thus attained a strong hold upon the counties, upon industry and commerce, and upon the official class, the State went on to tame also the unruly Protestants. By and by it succeeded also in this. The leaders of the Protestant Churches in those times accepted the offered state-grants although grave voices of warning were not wanting. The only recently deceased reformed minister of Szapárifalva, Charles *Rácz* published even a periodical under the title „Szabad Egyház" (Free Church) in order to carry on a decided campaign against the acceptance of state-subsidies. Those who took the opposite course are partly excused by the fact that according to the above mentioned Act of Parliament XX. 1848, the Protestant Churches had a legal right to state-subsidies. Over against the misgivings of an opposing minority the majority had a strong confidence that the State would always be impartial in dealing with the Churches. They may have been influenced in this optimism of theirs also by the fact that for a number of decades the seat of the Prime Minister of Hungary was occupied in almost unbroken succession by a number of Protestants as Count Mainard *Lónyay*, Coloman *Tisza* (in office for 15 years), Baron Desiderius *Bánffy*, Count Stephen *Tisza* (on two occasions). Another excuse for the acceptance of state-grants in aid may be found in the circumstance that the only alternative in question would have been to face an absurdly unequal situation over against Roman Catholicism, in spite of all legal declarations of „perfect equality and reciprocity". On the one hand the Roman Catholic Church would have remained in possession of her enormous landed properties, amounting in value to milliards of crowns, and having the character, with very few exceptions, of state endowments, the largest part of these landed properties having been donated to the Roman Church by the first Kings

of Hungary with the accompanying obligation of important public services (such as maintaining an armed force, the defence of the strongholds on the frontiers, the maintaining of schools, the establishing of public archives, the running of Courts of Justice, etc.). During the course of the centuries the Roman Church was naturally relieved of all these duties while the immense landed wealth remained in her hands, and even was increased by renewed donations. And over against all these advantages, the Protestant Churches on the other hand would have had to carry on their desperate struggle for existence practically without any possessions and without any help from the State. In 1895, according to the statistics of the Agricultural Ministry the Roman and Greek Catholic archbishoprics, bishoprics, chapters, abbeys, priorates and monastic orders were in possession of not less than 1,657.100 acres and 22 square-ells, i. e. about 3.5% of the whole area of Hungary, in those days, and in addition to this the Roman Catholic Church enjoyed the income of the properties of the religion and education funds (under state-management), amounting to 221.668 acres and 800 square ells; while, on the other hand, the three Protestant denominations owned, apart from the 7586 acres of the Baldácsy-endowment, a total of 26.621 acres of land including the 3664 acres owned by the Lutheran Saxon Church of Transylvania.

The different items of state subsidy were not all granted at once, but followed one another gradually. Their history may be summed up briefly as follows. After 1867, the Parliament appropriated in its yearly budget an increasing amount of money for the support of the accepted denominations, not including however the Roman Catholic Church. The Reformed Church e. g. was granted 130.000 crowns (26.000 dollars) in the first instance, for needy congregations and ministers and for her theological academies. The law XXX. 1883, regulating secondary education opened the way also for state support of the Protestant secondary schools. In 1894 the state instituted a system of supplements to the salaries of denominational primary-teachers, in the form of periodical increases. In 1898 a law was enacted (article XIV.) which assured to all ministers, other than Roman Catholics, a state-supplement of their salaries up to the minimum of 1600 crowns (320 dollars) yearly. This was followed by a further state-supplement of minister's salaries in the form of a periodical increase (400 crowns annually after the first five years of service, again 400 crowns after the second five years, and 200 crowns after the third, fourth and fifth period of five years, equalling twice 80 and three times 40 dollars.) Law XLVI: 1908 declared all primary instruction to be gratuitous. As the denominational schools were deprived thereby of a considerable amount of school-fees the state granted an annual indemnity to all school-maintaining congregations to recompense them for the lost incomes. Law XIII: 1909, assured also to assistant-ministers a state-grant, supplementing their salaries, in case of need, up to a minimum. Law XXVII: 1907, instituted a state-paid periodical increase in the salaries of primary-teachers in denominational schools, while law XVI: 1913,

regulated the state-paid supplements of the salaries of such teachers on the basis of a gradual advancement. The joint committee of the Protestant Churches, formed in 1892 for the furtherance and protection of their common interests, addressed a memorandum to the government in 1903, in which the churches' grievances and their claims for necessary state-subsidies were set forth. Count Stephen *Tisza,* the head of the government at that time, made binding promises in answer to this statement, but before these could be carried out, his cabinet fell. The minister of church and school-affairs in the succeeding cabinet, Count Albert *Apponyi* invited the Reformed and Lutheran Churhes in 1906 to submit a statement concerning the amount of state-grants that would be needed in order to relieve the churches of too heavy church-taxes. There had been numerous quite small congregations, consisting of 200—300 souls, which had to maintain their minister, teacher, church and school entirely by themselves, by paying twice or three times as much in church-taxes as their direct state-taxes amounted to. These congregations were truly overburdened beyond their capacity. Ultimately the government granted to the churches an increasing annual subsidy, reaching at its highest 3 million crowns (600.000 dollars) for the support of their ministers' old-age pension funds, for purposes of church-administration, and to secure the decrease of church-taxes in cases mentioned above. Out of every million crowns 689.800 were paid out to the Reformed Church and 301.200 to the Lutheran Church, corresponding to their numerical proportion in those days. These subsidies have been disbursed to the churches since 1909, not on the basis of any special law however, but by an annual vote of the parliament in connection with the state-budget. Law XXXVI: 1914, established an old-age pension fund for teachers of all grades employed in other than state-institutions. Later the ministers were granted family-increase bonuses, also war- and emergency-bonuses during the recent troubled years. State-subsidies were extended also to the theological professors and even the bishops. These latter too were granted an annual supplement to their salaries up to a certain standard, which annual grants the state began to redeem lately by the grant of a landed property once for ever, amounting in the average to 500 acres.

In connection with the disbursement of these multiplying state-subsidies, especially of the ministers' salary-supplements several influential voices of warning have already been raised, but especially the serious lessons of the post-war years have increasingly opened the eyes of a larger number to the recognition of the dangers, and even of an approaching impasse of this policy of state grants in aid. The dangerous effects of state-subsidies have become manifest especially among the teachers of the denominational schools. The law XXVII. 1907, passed under Count *Apponyi's* term as minister of education, declares that in cases where the state contributes a supplement of at least 200 crowns (40 dollars) towards the maintenance of a teacher's position, a lay-teacher's appointment is subject to the government's approval (while no such approval is demanded

in the case of the appointment of monks and nuns as teachers). Moreover, teachers appointed to such positions cannot be dismissed by way of disciplinary procedure without the approval of the government based on an independent examination of the case, to the great injury of the churches' autonomy. All this makes the teachers feel that they are primarily dependent on the State and not on the church. It is no wonder under such conditions if the old type of the denominational teacher, a loyal fellow-worker of his minister and zealous for his church, begins to disappear in some places and conflicts between ministers and teachers become frequent, destroying the peace of many congregations. In other respects too it becomes more and more evident that state-subsidies are scarcely given for nothing in exchange. It is being felt increasingly that, as *Harnack* the great church-historian expressed it, state-governments have always liked to look upon the churches as their cheapest police-force and have been willing to subsidize them readily for this reason. Besides this, and here we touch upon the greatest danger, the sacrificial spirit of the congregations themselves has been weakened by the state-subsidies. In many congregations their withering influence is clearly observable. In bygone days when Hungarian Protestants had to struggle hard for the sheer existence of their churches, they were capable of marvellous achievments; in these days of nominal equality between the denominations, however, being spared hard exertions through the crutches of the state-subsidies, their unused powers are becoming slowly atrophied. In Hungary too it has been found true that a church's life cannot be kept fresh and vigorous without the maintenance of a sacrificial spirit in its members. It is a well-founded law of psychology that where one's treasure is, there also one's heart is and a cause which costs little will not mean much to its adherents.

One difficulty after another arose in connection with these state-grants in aid. When subsidies for the lowering of church taxes were introduced two decades ago, this necessitated a change in congregations from all payments in kind to payments in cash. The conservative mind of many congregations violently resisted this. In some cases they had to be forced with the help of civil authorities to adopt the new system of evaluating all their payments in money. After the war and especially during the succeeding upheavals, there followed a disastrous depreciation of Hungarian currency. The church's demand under these conditions to return to a payment in kind or in amounts equalling their pre-war value, again met with strong resistance in numerous places. A long series of legal processes and disputes arose out of these difficulties and the peaceful life of many congregations suffered deplorable damage.

The upheavals following the war revealed very clearly the great drawbacks inherent in a system of state-subsidies. When communism rose to power all state-subsidies were abolished from one day to another. And when after half a year, bolshevist-rule was replaced again by a normal government, the finances of the state were thrown

entirely out of gear through the depreciation of the currency. Moreover, in consequence of the dismemberment of the country, the host of public officials expelled from the ceded territories who had to be taken over or pensioned by the state devolved such an enormous burden upon the government that in spite of its most friendly attitude towards the churches it was absolutely incapable of maintaining the churches' subsidies on anything like the pre-war level. According to a statement of the Minister of Finance in March, 1927, in present-day Hungary there are besides 83.635 active officials of the administration 50.876 pensioned public servants, and in the different concerns under state-management (post, railways, industrial works, estates) there are besides 74.687 active employees 53.393 pensioned persons. In certain cases, as e. g. in the department of the state-railways the number of the pensioned persons (43.679) almost reaches that of those in active service (49.861). When such enormous financial burdens had to be shouldered, of which the mentioned old-age pensions are only an example, it is easily understood that the state was unable to live up to all its formerly assumed obligations. Such abnormal conditions of the state finances explain why for a number of years the state-subsidies of the Protestant Churches became utterly precarious. Ministers received their salary-supplements and their congregations likewise their school-fee-indemnities and their church-tax-lowering subsidies (although these latter constituted the larger part of their income in many cases of quite small congregations) in the nominal pre-war amounts. The real value of these amounts however, had depreciated to such a degree that there was a time when the postage of the receipt against which these subsidies were disbursed cost the ministers or the congregations more than the whole amount received. Now the state endeavours to valorize these amounts step by step. Not long ago the minister's salary-supplement was raised to its pre-war value; since July 1 of 1927. the additional allowance also is raised to 50% of its pre-war value for the ministers with a lower stipend only; the school-fee-indemnities and the church-tax-lowering subsidies however are still paid out only at a fraction of their former value. The salary-supplements of the denominational teachers, for which the state has undertaken legal obligations on the one hand, and contracted obligations on the other hand over against the school-maintaining church-bodies, have been nevertheless altered arbitrarily by the State to the disadvantage of the churches. The contributions towards the old-age-pension fund, incumbent upon the school-maintaining church-bodies in proportion to the number of the teachers employed by them, have also been raised by the state to five-times as high as formerly. All this has thrown the finances of many congregations into a most critical state and indirectly also their peaceful inner development has been affected disastrously.

But other ill-auguring developments besides show themselves in connection with the state-subsidies. The state-support paid out for churches and denominational schools have opened the gates for insatiable demands: the enormously rich Roman Catholic church too

demanded the gifts of the State, as if she had never received from the State a single square inch of land. The state-subsidies for Roman Catholic purposes began under the ministry of Count *Apponyi* who had granted the teachers' salary-supplement to the nuns in the teaching profession regardless of their vows of poverty. Since that time the Roman Catholic Church avails herself of all accessible state-subsidies in spite of her immense income from her estates which as a matter of fact are state-endowments themselves. According to the state budget of 1927—1928. there were granted to the Roman Catholic Church both of the Latin and the Greek rites, under the heading of salary-subsidies for the lower clergy, not less than 1,138.660 pengős (196.569 dollars), as compared with 628.172 pengős appropriated for the same purpose in the previous budget of 1926—1927, although the very large income of the „fund for religious and school-purposes" is also used for the same purposes. Under various other headings 1,172.384 pengős (202.391 dollars) are appropriated for the Roman Catholic Church in the same budget, as compared with 172.384 pengős of the previous year.

The last budget bill comments on this amount of 1,172.384 pengős, as follows: „The Roman Catholic Church has suffered extraordinary losses in consequence of the upheavals of recent years; a considerable portion of her landed property was lost through the peace-treaty of the Trianon; the state-bonds and mortgage-bonds in her possession became worthless through depreciation; as a consequence her financial situation has been seriously impaired in comparison with former times. This circumstance justifies the honouring of those wishes, voiced with much force by Roman Catholic public opinion, that a round sum of one million pengős (172.000 dollars) in excess should be appropriated for the reorganization of the pension fund for aged priests, for supplementing the salaries of professors in the theological seminaries which have lost their funds, and for the erection of most urgent buildings. The need for buildings is so great that the contemplated state-subsidy is quite out of proportion to it, and on the other hand it is so urgent that the problem can not be solved by such annual immediate state-subsidies even in the course of decades. A way had to be found therefore by which without a further burdening of the state's treasury beyond its powers and capacities, the Church is nevertheless placed in a position to deal satisfactorily with its need of buildings. It is intended consequently that a part of the proposed increase, roughly 500.000 pengős (86.000 dollars) should be specified as an annuity for a loan to be raised by the Church, by which she could avail herself of a considerable fund for building purposes". This means that these roughly 500.000 pengős out of the one million pengős appropriated in excess are granted to the Roman Catholic Church not only for this year, but as well for several decades, which even counting 35 years for the repayment of the suggested loan, amounts to a state-grant of roughly 17½ million pengős (3,010.000 dollars) for the building plans of the Roman Catholic Church alone.

One need not be a prophet to see that the extension of the state-subsidies to this unexpected sphere will sooner or later lead the whole system of state-subsidies to an impasse. In connection with these latest developments it has also become more and more evident how dangerous this system can be from the point of view of church politics. It can be seen now that state-subsidies can become effective tools of the fancies, or the well-planned schemes of political tendencies rising eventually to power. At present the „militant" type of Roman Catholicism, much in evidence in the whole world, but for various reasons, especially active in Hungary, makes its influence increasingly felt in this matter of state-subsidies. It becomes ever more evident that regimes may come which will handle this matter of state-subsidies not only in a partial way, but with a definitely hostile tendency with regard to Protestantism, or even abolish all state-subsidies at one stroke. This latter procedure is the programme not only of the communists. One may envisage even a tendency which would systematically burden the state-finances with increasing subsidies to the churches to a point where the whole system would become absurd and a total separation between the state and church-affairs might become a necessity.

Such separation is a possibility that must be taken seriously into account. Already at the time of such separation in France and in certain Swiss cantons we have warned the public opinion of our churches repeatedly, that this idea of separation will not stop at our frontiers and they should prepare themselves for its arrival by creating reserve-funds in each congregation. In several places this advice was acted upon, but since then unfortunately most of these funds became worthless in consequence of depreciation. The ideal to be aimed at is the clear and final settling of our accounts with the State. We have repeatedly appealed to the State for a clearance with all Christian denominations: let the claims of the Protestant Churches be satisfied once for ever in proportion to the State-endowments of the Roman Catholic Church and then let there be a final separation between state and church affairs, no church receiving any subsidies thereafter, but all of them entering independently upon a rivalry in their service on approximately equal terms. Instead of the annual subsidies granted previously to the Protestant churches under various titles, they too should be granted a corresponding capital once for ever in the most stable form of landed property. The only moral ground on which they could accept state-subsidies even now lies in the fact, that the Roman Church is in possession of a great landed wealth derived from the State and that therefore at least a certain amount of state subsidies as a counterbalance is justified on the Protestant side. Our Roman Catholic fellowcitizens do not care so much as to whether such claims of the Protestants will be satisfied or not, but rather as to whether it will be done out of the properties now in their possession. One of the Roman Catholic dailies „Uj Nemzedék" („New Generation") published an article on March 30th, 1920, under the title: „The peace between the Christian denomi-

nations". In this it is stated that it would not be admissible that a single copper should be taken away from Roman Catholic funds, but the article goes on to say, that „Roman Catholics could not, and as a matter of fact, would not object in any way if the State wanted to place at the disposal of the Protestants the material means, either in the forms of funds or in that of bonds, for the carrying on of their activities of common usefulness from the national, cultural, humanitarian and moral point of view, just as the State is doing it for enterprises initiated by itself for such purposes". The article adds, that if however the State should attempt to satisfy Protestant interests out of the „fund for church and school purposes", the income of which had been destined previously to serve Roman Catholic needs, „peace would be at an end at once". About the end of the war, in 1917, the State itself showed serious willingness to settle this important question. Already during the second term of Count *Apponyi* in the ministry for church and school-affairs, a plan was prepared to carry the Law XX. 1848, into effect, by granting to the Protestant Churches once for ever a capital of 200 million crowns (40 million dollars) and in the meantime, until this capital is disbursed, as its 4% interest a yearly amount of 8 million crowns (1,600.000 dollars).

In connection with such general clearance the demand must be raised also that certain remaining rudiments of the state-church character of the Roman Catholic Church which contrary to the „perfect equality and reciprocity" between the denominations as declared in §. 2. of the Law XX. 1848, are still in existence, should be done away with. Among other things the unequal arrangement established by custom must cease, according to which only Roman Catholic persons can be designated as ministers for church and school affairs and accordingly only Protestants as political state-secretaries attached to this ministry.

1. The Constitution of the Hungarian Reformed Church.

The Hungarian Reformed Church according to the XXVI. Act of Parliament of 1791, has full autonomy in all its church and school affairs.

„The Hungarian Reformed Church is ruled and governed according to the principles of the Synod-Presbyterian System" — so, we may read in the introductory part of our Church Code. Our church constitution is not therefore purely Presbyterian for it knows higher church organizations than the kirk-sessions; but it is not purely Synodical either for besides the Synod there are other corporate bodies in the Church. The constitution of our Church is accordingly a combination of the two principles and is built up on the progressive representation of the congregations. The members of the congregations elect the representative body of the congregation which is the kirk-session (presbyterium), and the Synod is constituted through the congregations as a rule over three progressive stages. The Hungarian Reformed Church served faithfully the cardinal principle of the Calvinist Church

which, in full and in fact revolutionary contrast to the constitution of the Roman Catholic Church, regards the congregation as the fundamental basis of the Church's life and constitution. But the historical development did not allow that it could maintain the other Calvinistic doctrine which regards the congregation as in itself an autonomous and independent body without any institutional relations to other congregations, because the necessity of organized resistance against the hostile forces and oppression of the Roman Church made the organisation of higher corporate bodies inevitable. This organisation was carried out, however, in harmony with the principles of Calvinism on the basis of representation. But this representation is not entirely progressive for the higher corporate bodies of the Church and its officials are not formed and elected by the immediate lower degrees, but directly through the votes of the kirk-sessions of the single congregations. The peculiarity of this system of representation is that the individual members of the congregations may declare and vote for their will and opinion not individually, but through the corporate body of the congregation, i. e. through the vote of the kirk-session. Then there is a certain incompleteness in the constitution of the Hungarian Reformed Church considering the purity of the Synod. In the Presbyterian system: i. e. in some of the higher church organisations, we have church officials who are elected for life. Such are the vestiges of the Consistorial system, showing marks of the influence of the German Lutheran Church on the constitution of our Church. We have, e. g. very likely owing to this influence, the office of the senior and the superintendent (bishop). But the establishment of certain lay offices in the church had its root in the special circumstances of our country and history. The influence of the Consistorial system was especially strong in the constitution of the Transylvanian Church. The power is concentrated in the hands of a single man, in an organisation working from above downwards while yet in the Consistorial and Episcopalian system. But in the from-below-upwards organisation of the Synod-Presbyterian system the power is handed over always to corporate bodies. Though there are certain corporate bodies in the Consistorial church constitution also, but above all these bodies stands the head of the state as *„summus episcopus"* and under him the superintendents who also exercise their power by themselves. But it is a contradiction also to the purity of the Synod-Presbyterian system that certain church officials are elected for life, while this system does not know any office which is filled without the possibility of change.

Another characteristic of all of the Hungarian Churches, and among them that of the Hungarian Reformed Church also, is that *their members are born into and do not join the Church in their later years* by free will. In Hungary the civil laws definitely prescribe the church to which the children of parents, belonging to different confessions, must belong. Thus individual persons become the members of different Churches by the fact of their birth only, oftentimes even without baptism. So much so, that if a child is baptised by the

minister of another Church, none the less he will belong to that Church which is prescribed for him or her by the laws. In Hungary therefore the notion of confessional churches where members are recruited by the free will joining of grown up individuals is almost unknown.

The civil laws of Hungary do not allow to anybody the change of religion before the 18 th. year of his or her age; until that time everybody must belong to an established or legally accepted church of the country. Even those parents who do not belong to any confession must choose one for their children in which they are educated up to their 18th. year. We mention in this connection the curious fact which is unknown in most foreign countries that in Hungary *religious education,* with the exception of the Universities and Colleges, is *obligatory* in two lessons weekly or at least one; the pupils must have marks of „religion" just as in other subjects, otherwise they cannot pass into a higher class. This system and these laws are obligatory in the Hungarian Reformed Church also. Everybody becomes the member of a congregation, if he stays permanently within the boundaries of the parish or if he does not stay there, but pays state taxes on immovable properties or has there any business or profession. In these congregations he is *obliged* to pay his contribution to the ordinary church taxes, but, on the other hand, he or she will share all the rights connected with the church membership. If there is not organised congregational life of the Reformed Church within the parish, the church authorities have the right to enrol him in the membership of a neighbouring congregation. If a change of residence occurs, everybody becomes the member of the new congregation after a stay of six weeks. Anybody may be the member of more congregations if he shares in the material burdens of the respective congregations.

Among the different rights of a church member is *the right to vote* and *to be elected.* In this respect the Hungarian Reformed Church was very liberal for a long time past; so for instance we preceded many sister churches abroad in granting suffrage to the women members of the Church. According to the laws of our Church electors are all men and women church members (including in the latter category all the spinsters of full age, all widows, divorced women, women living in mixed marriages, and women whose husbands have been living abroad for more than a year, but are paying the church taxes) who are 24 years of age or have been declared to be of full age or were married before; and if they pay their contribution to the church and school taxes. Only men are eligible as elders (presbyters) or church officials; then as to members of the Synod or of the governing board of high schools only those can be elected who have a secondary school education. But in larger congregations women may be elected as „parochial councillors" or members of different committees both in the congregations and in higher church bodies.

In describing the constitution of our Church we have to deal first with the *corporate* and then with the *individual* organs.

a) **Church Organisation. The corporate organs of the Reformed Church.**

Our church organisation is built from below upwards. The first in the scale of organisation is the congregation. More congregations together form a seniorate (tractus) and more seniorates a church district (in older times called superintendentia). The General Church was constituted of five church districts together with the Transylvanian district; since the Treaty of Trianon, however, we have lost Transylvania and there are now four church districts only. The highest administrative body in the Church is the General Conventus, and the highest legislative organ is the General Synod.

The *congregations* may be „mother"-, joint-, missionary-, „daughter"-congregations; then there are preaching or out-stations and the diaspora. Mother-congregations are those which sustain a church and a permanent minister. Joint-congregations are those which, being in the neighbourhood of each other, maintain a permanent minister together. They may have a common church building and kirk-session also, but these may be separate as well. Missionary congregations are those which under the care and spiritual guidance of a minister maintain their congregational life with the aid of the Central Fund or of any other higher church bodies. Daughter-congregations have not a minister of their own, but they maintain a denominational school with at least, one teacher and have a kirk-session also. Preaching stations (outparishes) have neither permanent ministers nor teachers, but kirk-sessions only. The diaspora is under the care of the next congregation and church members who belong to it, living in small numbers in different places, are without any kind of organised congregational life. Such diasporas are especially many in the western and southern parts of our country. The counter reformation and the settlements after the Turkish wars caused the greatest losses in these parts to our Church while we lost considerably less in the parts over the River Tisza where the greatest masses of our Reformed people live together (Transtibiscan District).

While the congregations as autonomous bodies administer their affairs by themselves, some of their decisions must be dealt with and approved of by higher church authorities, i. e. by the seniorate and the church district also. Such are the decisions concerning the purchase and sale of or mortgages on immovable properties, borrowing, any change in the key of church taxes, the organisation of the office of a new minister, schoolmaster, teacher or organist, resolutions concerning the construction of church buildings. The congregations exercise their power through the kirk-session; the general meetings of the congregations, on the other hand, through their disciplinary court and through their elected officials.

The *kirk-sessions* (presbyterium) exercise all the rights and have to do all the duties which do not belong, according to the church laws, to the sphere of activity of the general meeting of the congregation or of the disciplinary court or of the minister and curator. The members of the kirk-session by their offices are: the ordinary

and the assistant (substitute) ministers, the curator (in larger congregations there used to be a chief curator also), the catechist, the teacher and the organist. If the congregation has more than one catechist, one of them is elected into the kirk-session; similarly schoolmasters and professors are elected out of the staff of the high schools and colleges, if there is any maintained by the congregation. If there are more than one teacher or organist, only as many should be elected into the kirk-session as there are ministers in the congregation. Besides the official members there are 4—100 elected members of the kirk-session. The elders (presbyters) are elected for a period of 12 years, but a third of the whole number is re-elected in every three years. The elders take their seat in the kirk-session after an oath of office. The chairman (or moderator) of the kirk-session is the minister; where there are more than one minister in the congregation, the moderator is the oldest in office. In congregations where a chief curator is elected, he is the fellow-moderator at the meetings of the kirk-session. In such a case the meeting is convoked and conducted by both of them, but the opening and the closing of the meeting is always the right and duty of the minister. No meeting of the kirk-session can be held without the presence of the ordinary or substitute minister.

The *general meeting* of the congregation must be organised and held in every congregation though exceptions may be granted for special reasons after the proposal of the seniorate through the district's assembly only. In very large congregations the membership of the general meeting is constituted through representation. Amongst the 2000 congregations of our Church in the pre-war times there were about 500 where the general meetings were organised on such a basis. The moderator or moderators of the general meeting are identical with those of the kirk-session.

We shall deal with the disciplinary courts and the officials of the congregation in later chapters.

The *seniorates* (tracti) consist of a number of congregations and are administrative and governing bodies of the Church. The number of congregations in the seniorates is very different. There is a seniorate — Drégelypalánk — with 9 congregations, but there was a seniorate with 91 congregations — Szabolcs —, but it was separated into two: the North-, and the Middle Szabolcs seniorate. There were two seniorates with 72 congregations (Abaujtorna and Belsősomogy) and a number of seniorates which had more than 60 congregations (Szatmár 65; Bereg and Maros, each 64; Felsőbaranya 63). The number of members and adherents varies a great deal also. The greatest number: 200.000 was (before the dismemberment through the Treaty of Trianon) in Békésbánát and then came seniorates with an average of 120.000 members and adherents in Hevesnagykunság, Debrecen, Alsószabolcs-Hajduvidék, Pest; while the four smallest with an average of 10.000 were the Nagysajó and Gyulafehérvár Seniorates in Transylvania, the Torna Seniorate in the Cisibiscan and the Drégelypalánk Seniorate in the Transdanubian district.

All the affairs of the seniorate are administered by the seniorate's assembly, by the seniorate's church court and, on the other hand, by the senior and the seniorate's curator.

The members of the *seniorate's assembly* are: the senior and the seniorate's curator, the assessors of the court, in equal number ministers and laymen, the notaries (laymen and ministers also), every ordinary-, assistant-, (substitute-), and missionary minister of the seniorate and the representatives of the kirk-sessions, elected in equal numbers with the ministers, from the staffs of the seniorate's high schools and colleges, at least, one from each, and 2—6 teachers, men only, elected from among all the teachers of the seniorate's denominational schools. The assessors of the church courts, the notaries, the professor-, schoolmaster- and teacher-representatives are elected by the kirk-sessions. The seniorate's officials are elected either for life or, in some places, for a period of 10 years; the representatives of the schools are elected for 3 years. The number of the assessors of the church courts is fixed by the church district, and the number of the school representatives by the seniorate. The catechists, army chaplains and ministers with special calling (prisons, hospitals, etc.), who act within the territory of the seniorate have the right to sit at the assembly, but they have not got the right to vote.

The assembly of the seniorate is convoked by the senior and the seniorate's curator, at least, once a year, and they are the fellow-moderators of the assembly also. Every affair and business which does not belong to the church court's sphere of activity is dealt with at the assembly. Some important items in the usual business of the seniorate's assembly are: the approval of the ministers' elections; the election of different church officials (lawyer, treasurer, auditor etc.); the hearing and approval of the senior's yearly report; the care of the missions and the diaspora; the supervision of the cashier's office in the seniorate and the yearly budgets and accounts of the congregations. The order of the business is settled by the Assembly itself.

The *church districts* (superintendentiae) consist of different numbers of seniorates. They are also administrative and governing bodies. The formation of the church districts was a necessity of development during the history of our Church. The Cistibiscan district was formed out of four seniorates of North Hungary as late as 1735. The issue of the Carolina Resolutio in 1734 had forced the union of the two church districts of the Transdanubian and Danubian parts of the country. The largest church district was from the beginning the Transtibiscan district which in 14 seniorates comprised, before the dismemberment of Hungary, almost a third of the whole Hungarian Reformed Church. The second largest was the Danubian district in 8 seniorates with nearly half a million members and adherents; the third the Transylvanian in 18 seniorates with more than 450.000 members and adherents; the fourth the Cistibiscan with 8 and the fifth the Transdanubian District with 9 seniorates, both over a quarter of a million members and adherents.

The business and the affairs of the church district are administered on the one hand by the district's assembly and the district's court, on the other hand by the bishop and chief curator.

The members of the *district's assembly* are: the bishop and the chief curator, the seniors and curators of all the seniorates and, at least, one minister and one lay delegate of the seniorates; the assessors of the church court, the notaries — ministers and laymen in equal number —, one representative from each of the schools and colleges of the district and four teacher representatives. The delegates of the seniorates are elected in the seniorate's assembly either yearly or for three years. The notaries and the court's assessors are elected either for life or for a period of ten years (in reality everywhere for life) by the kirk-sessions. The schools' representatives are elected by the kirk-sessions for a period of five years. All the other officials of the district are elected at the assembly, but they have not got the right to vote in the assembly.

The assembly of the district must be convoked, at least, once a year by the bishop and the chief curator. The assembly is opened by the prayer of the bishop, but the moderatorship is here also double. The district's assembly has the right to deal with all the church and school affairs of the district, and acts as an appellate forum in all matters which are not referred expressis verbis to the church court. The most important items of the disctrit's assembly's activity is: to watch whether the doctrines of the Church are preached from the pulpits and taught in the schools in purity; to watch in order that the autonomy of the Church should be respected everywhere and in everything. The assembly deals with and approves of the yearly report of the bishop; it keeps watch over the religious and moral life in the district's congregations; it gives orders, at least, once every two years, regarding the ordination of the new ministers; it distributes the assistant ministers in the district; it elects the minister and lay members who represent the district at the General Conventus, and also the different church officials (treasurer, lawyer and public prosecutor, auditor, etc); it forms a Committee of Education; it fixes the amount of subsidies to congregations or the schools; it administers the landed properties, funds, endowments of the district. The order of the business is settled by the Assembly itself.

The *General Church* has two corporate bodies, the *General Conventus* and the *Synod*.

The *General Conventus* is the highest administrative body of our Church in all affairs concerning the interests of the General Church. Its establishment was preceded by many discussions and it took its present shape — which hardly can be regarded as final and unchangeable — only after a long course of development. First it was simply a kind of council where the representatives of the single districts were sent with strict mandates. There were long discussions later about the moderatorship of the Conventus also, as to whether it should be single or double.

The members of the Conventus are the bishops and chief curators of the four church districts (before the loss of Transylvania the bishop and chief curator eldest in office of the Transylvanian district were, of course, the members of the Conventus also). The districts elect their members at the districts' assemblies, every three years, in equal number ministers and laymen, i. e. the Transtibiscan district sends 8, the Danubian 6, the Transdanubian and Cistibiscan each 4 members, and the Transylvanian district sent 6 members. The two moderators of the General Conventus are the bishop and the chief curator,

Building of the Reformed General Conventus and Synod.

both the eldest in office. The two ministerial and two lay notaries are elected by the Conventus itself for a period of three years. The meetings are held in the Budapest church offices of the General Conventus.

The most important points in the sphere of activity of the Conventus are: to take measures about the convocation and preparation of the Synod and to execute the resolutions of it; to represent the Church towards the state and other denominations when the Synod is not sitting together; to protect the autonomy and all legal rights and privileges of the Church; to take measures in all matters sent up by the church districts; to take care of all missionary affairs; to

direct all the school affairs of the Church through the General Committee of Education; to administer the Central Fund (Domestica), the General Relief and Pension Fund and other funds and endowments of the General Church; to act as a church court of the highest instance, both in ordinary and extraordinary courts. The General Conventus holds its meeting, as a rule, twice in every year. The meetings are public, but at the request of the presidency or of three members the meeting may be declared private. A third of the members may ask for the delay of the vote to another day and they may ask also for a vote by names.

The *Synod* is the highest legislative body of our Church which has to be held in every ten years.

The members of the Synod are: the bishops and the chief curators of five, now four, districts, the delegates of the church districts, three representatives of the colleges, high schools and elementary schools, one delegate from each of them. The kirk-session elect their delegates, in equal numbers ministers and laymen (the latter must be over 24 years of age and with secondary school education) according to the size of their respective church districts: the Transtibiscan district sends 34, the Danubian 16, the Transdanubian and the Cistibiscan districts each 14, and the Transylvanian district sent 18 ordinary and deputy members in equal number. The church districts may elect their delegates on a common list or they may distribute the election proportionally among the seniorates. The elections are valid for the whole ten years' period of the Synod.

The Synod is constituted by a solemn service. After that the first meeting is held with the double moderatorship of the bishop and chief curator, both those who are eldest in office. The notaries are the four youngest members. After the supervision of the mandates the moderators draw up the list of the members. Then the Synod elects its two moderators from amongst the bishops and chief curators, the two deputy moderators, three ministerial and three lay notaries and lastly the master of the Synod. After the election the newly elected moderators take their seats and the moderators declare the Synod constituted. The Synod decides, first of all, on the order of business, then it forms the various committees. The sittings are public, but at the request of the moderators or of ten members a closed sitting may be held. A resolution, however, may be passed in a public sitting only. The Synod is entitled to adjourn its sittings within the period of its term of ten years, but never for a longer time than a year. After the end of the proceedings the session is closed. The costs of the members of the Synod are to be met by the single church districts, and the other costs of the Synod must be provided also by districts, proportionally distributed.

The chief business of the Synod is the church legislation: it is also the highest authority of church administration. In church legislation the most important items are: to draw up or modify the constitution; to define or explain the doctrines of the church; to fix the sphere of activity, rights and duties of the different church

officials; to carry out changes in the territories of the church districts; to prescribe the rules and ceremonies for the ordination of ministers; to be the highest authority in the educational affairs of the Church from the lowest up to the highest degree; the regulation of church discipline and jurisdiction; to prescribe the liturgy and the holidays of the church; the regulation of the bearing of church burdens; the maintenance of the Central, and Relief and Pension Funds. It is the duty of the Synod to watch over the integrity of the autonomy and legal privileges of the Church; to make necessary arrangements in all business concerning the stipends and salaries of ministers and church officials; to take measures, if necessary, about the revision of the authorised version of the Bible and of the Church Hymnary.

b) **The Chief Church Officials. Individual Functionaries in the Reformed Church.**

In the various corporate bodies of the Church there are different officials employed who, by the special development of our institutions different somewhat from the development of Protestant Churches abroad, are charged with a certain part of the church power, besides the power of the corporate bodies. Such officials with special rights and power are in the congregation the minister and the lay-curator; in the seniorate the senior and the lay-curator of the seniorate; in the district the bishop and the chief lay-curator.

In the congregations, especially in the greater ones, beside the elders, deacons and deaconesses there are various church officials employed, e. g. ministers, ministers and assistants charged with religious education (catechists), curators, schoolmasters or teachers, (if the congregation has schools), organists, church officers (beadles) and occasionally other administrative officials. Among these the ministers and curators are elected by all the church members entitled to do so; the catechists, teachers and organists are elected by the kirk-session, and schoolmasters by the administrative board of the school. All the other church officials and the church officers are elected by the kirk-session. The election of ministers, catechists, schoolmasters, teachers and organists is for life, that of the curators for 3 years and the election of other church officials for a determined period of time. Among these various officials the most important in the life of our churches are the minister and the curator.

Ministers can be called or elected in the congregations or otherwise as ordinary, missionary ministers, army chaplains, ministers employed in prisons or reformatories, catechists, assistants.

Ordinary ministers are called or elected for life by church members with full powers. Missionary ministers are employed for home missionary work either by the Central Fund or by a church district with the cooperation of the more nearly interested congregations. Army chaplains, then ministers in prisons or reformatories or various institutions, kept by the State, various endowments or funds, either of church or lay character, belong to that seniorate or church district in the territory of which they are employed. The

catechists are ministers charged with religious education in church schools, but more often with the religious education of the Reformed pupils of the state or municipal schools. There are two kinds of assistant ministers. Some of them are employed in the congregations in the case of the total disablement of the minister or in the case of a vacancy, others are simply helping the work of a minister, mostly in greater congregations. Ordinary and missionary ministers are formally installed by the senior or by his officially appointed deputy. Ministers, professors in divinity colleges, schoolmasters in church high schools with ministerial character after the beginning of their services are solemnly ordained at the first given oppurtunity.

The election of ordinary ministers may happen in two ways: either by way of competitive election or by the call of the congregation.

The latter case happens if the absolute majority of the elders make a decision about the matter or if the majority of the church members in a prescribed memorial ask the kirk-session for such a decision. After that the senior to whom the congregation belongs asks for the diploma and credentials of the ministers to be elected and if they are found to be in order, he sends a committee of a minister and a layman to the congregation. This committee summons immediately an electorial meeting of all the members of the congregation entitled to the right of election who, with a simple „aye" or „no", vote whether they assent to the call or not. If there are not found at least ten members of the meeting who want personal voting, the election is regarded as valid without any formal vote. But in the event of more than ten members asking for a vote, then the members cast their vote by secret ballot and if there is a majority of „aye"-s the election of the minister is valid. In any case an appeal can be presented against the election within no more than 15 days. After these 15 days, if no appeal arrives, the senior issues a concession (concessa) to the elected minister who occupies his pulpit as soon as possible thereafter.

If this way of election or call is without success or in the event of no attempt being made for an election through call, the senior, immediately after a vacancy, makes arrangement for an election by way of competition. The competition must be advertised in a church newspaper, published in the respective church district. Those who want to take part in the competition send to the senior their application with diplomas and with documentary evidence. There is formed a committee to investigate which of the competitors will be allowed to take part in the competition and which of them are perchance excluded, supposing their documentary evidence is not found to be in order or if he is under a disciplinary process.

The names of those who are entitled to compete must be announced to the congregation at the morning service of next Sunday. After that the senior fixes the date of the election within three or four weeks. The electors are entitled to hear the preaching of the competitors, but they have to travel, and at their own expense, to

the place where the competing minister in question is in charge. Those who want to take part in a competitive election or to accept the call of a congregation, are not allowed to go to the territory of the parish in question on any pretence; neither are they allowed to go to any parish or congregation near to that where they will be called or elected, in order that they might preach before the members of the vacant congregation. The presidency of the seniorate, similarly as in the case of a call, sends a committee to the congregation which carries through the election. The election in this case also may happen by personal voting or by acclamation, if there should not be found at least ten persons who wish the vote. If there are more than ten who want the vote, the electors cast their votes to the various, previously agreed to and accepted names by secret ballot. If there should not be an absolute majority, the committee orders a bye-election immediately or the day after, between the two competitors with the greatest number of votes. In the event of an appeal against the vote and election, at the first grade the administrative law-court of the seniorate, in the second grade that of the church district makes a decision. These courts may declare the election null and void and they may exclude the minister thus elected from the new competition.

There is a third way of an election of a minister: an election by way of exchange. In such case the ministers and kirk-sessions of the two interested congregations have to apply to the presidency of the seniorate or to the assembly of the seniorate and if the exchange of ministers is found to be in the interest of both congregations, they may give their assent to it. If the ministers who want the exchange happen to be in the congregations of two different church districts they have to apply to the presidencies of the church districts in question.

The elected minister is obliged to occupy his pulpit within the time announced in the advertisement for competition. He is obliged also to take up his residence within the bounds of the parish of his congregation. But, on the other hand, if there remains a widow after the deceased minister, she and her children are entitled to receive the full salary and income with the manse and the various fees (stola) for six months. Before the new regulation, which is presently valid, the widows received the income of the so-called unfinished year (from the day of the death of the minister until the 24-th. of April of the same or the next year, which day is still the beginning of the church year) and the income of a whole year after, the so-called year of benevolence. Where neither widow nor orphans under age remain after the death of the minister, the intermediate incomes are to be given to the maintenance funds of the congregation. The congregation is obliged to pay the expenses of removal to the minister. On the other hand, the minister is not allowed to leave his congregation in a shorter time than a year in any case and even if he leaves his congregation within a time less than two years he has to refund the half of the expenses of his removal.

In greater congregations there are often two ministers in charge. But because the cooperation of two ministers in the same congregation and in the same pulpit was not everywhere so harmonious as might be desired, church laws and regulations encourage lately rather the formation of separate congregations or, at least, parochial districts or circles. Accordingly our greater congregations are anxious to erect as many new church buildings as possible and solve thus the difficult problem of too large congregations. In our greater congregations, of course, such as Budapest, Debrecen, Hódmezővásárhely, Kolozsvár, Szatmár, etc, we had already more than one church building.

The missionary ministers (for home mission work and the upkeep of preaching stations) are elected by the members of the various missionary congregations by whom the minister is called, if they pay, at least, the half of the stipend of the minister, or if they make a contribution to the expenses of the stipend according to the assessment key of ordinary church taxes. The other missionary ministers are appointed by the bishop after a public competition.

Army chaplains, from among ministers with, at least, three years of service, are appointed by way of an open competition and with the assent of the Presidency of the General Conventus. The ministers employed by various public institutions, are elected also by way of an open competition and with the assent of the respective bishops to the territory of whose church districts the institution in question belongs.

Permanent catechists (minister charged with religious education) are called or elected for life from among fully qualified ministers by the assembly of the seniorate.

Assistants are those who have finished the four years of their college education and passed the first examination qualifying for the ministry. Every „candidate" after this examination is obliged to spend two years as assistant for the sake of practice and is allowed to pass his second examination qualifying for the ministry only after these two years. One of these two years can be spent abroad in foreign colleges or universities with theological studies. In such circumstances assistants play a much more important rôle in church life than in foreign sister churches. Those assistant ministers who are charged with the duties and responsibilities of an ordinary ministry must have full qualification according to our church laws. Travelling expenses of assistants must be paid by the interested congregation or minister. Assistants or divinity students who have not yet passed their final examinations are not allowed to pass from one church district to another without the consent of their respective bishops.

The minimum value of an ordinary *minister's stipend* is fixed according to our later church laws at 2400 crowns (480 dollars or 100 pounds). This amount is followed by the so called stipend supplements, six times 200 crowns, (40 dollars or 8 pounds) in every five years. But should that not be possible, until the full carrying out of the XX. Act of Parliament of 1848, this minimum value has to be

reduced to the amount of 1600 crowns (320 dollars or 64 pounds) including a manse, a garden to it and the church fees (stola). The 1600 crowns remain the minimum stipend until now, but the state salary subsidy owing to the extreme depreciation of our money, for a long time amounted to a sum which in real value was almost nothing. There were times when ministers entirely disregarded this salary subsidy, because the stamps and cost of delivery were higher than the subsidy itself. For a time this subsidy was actually suspended. Now since the lst. of July, 1927, the supplement payments have begun again, but in half value only.

The depreciation of our money standard caused, generally speaking, much confusion and difficulties in our church life. Our congregations which received a state subsidy for the reduction of church taxes a few years before the War, changed the payment of salaries which since that time happened in cash instead of the old method of payment in kind.

And when the depreciation period began, though our church laws definitely forbade every unjustifiable reduction of salaries, the congregations, receiving their subsidy from the state in depreciated paper money, wanted to pay their officials accordingly. This led to many unnecessary quarrellings which proved the wisdom of our fathers who, having no great trust in the unstable value of money, desired to have their stipend in kind instead of money.

The *curators* — in greater congregations there is a chief-curator and a curator — are the greatest help to the ministers in the material and economical matters of the congregation. The curators are elected for a period of three years by all the voting members of the congregation from among the more respected members of the congregation, taking into account their ability and readiness to bear the responsibilities of their office. The duties of the curators are as follows: to summon the meetings of the kirk-session, to conduct these meetings along with the minister, to sign official documents together with the minister, to examine the treasury of the congregation at least every three months, to remit necessary expenses and to superintend all the movable and immovable goods of the congregation. The curator submits the usual yearly accounts to the senior who presents them to the audit office of the seniorate where the accounts are carefully scrutinised; and the assembly of the seniorate, after hearing the report of the accountants, gives an acquittal for the accounts or refuses it.

There are various officials in the *seniorate* also. The most important officials are here the senior and the curator of the seniorate, but besides them there are notaries, the assessors of the seniorate's administrative and disciplinary courts of justice; lastly, the attorney of the courts and the lawyer of the seniorate.

The *senior* is elected by all the kirk-sessions of the seniorate from among the ordinary ministers of the seniorate either for life or, where that method is introduced, for a period of ten years. He is

introduced and confirmed in his office by the assembly of the seniorate by a solemnly taken oath.

The senior's sphere of activity includes: the summoning of the assembly of the seniorate, where, and also during the sittings of the seniorate's courts of justice, he takes the chair together with the lay-curator. He is the representative of the seniorate, again together with the lay curator, in the assemblies of the church district and also towards and before the civil authorities. He makes arrangements in the case of ministers' or teachers' elections; he sends out assistants where that seems to be necessary. He superintends the work of various church officials and carries out the resolutions of the seniorate or church-district. He superintends the religious life of his seniorate also and it is his duty therefore to visit yearly every congregation of his seniorate (canonica visitatio) in the company of one of his colleague ministers in the seniorate. If it is possible, the lay curator and a lay assessor of the church court accompanies him in these visits. If these visits cannot be accomplished all of them personally by him, owing to the large size of his seniorate or any other reason, he may entrust a minister assessor of the church court or another minister: that is to say, he is entitled to form separate visting committees, if necessary. The senior or the appointed committee holds a meeting of the kirk-session during such official visits to the congregations and takes minutes of the meeting, making detailed notes of every important incident in the life of the congregation and in its schools. These minutes and a full report of the senior of the life of his congregations are to be submitted to every year's assembly of the seniorate. If the senior is prevented in his duties for any reason his deputy is that minister-assessor of the church court who is eldest in his office.

The *lay curator of the seniorate* is elected for life or for a period of ten years by the kirk-sessions of the seniorate from among those laymen who are known to be devout members of their church, but it must not be taken into account whether he stays in the territory of the seniorate or not. His rights and duties in his office correspond to those of the senior, he being the lay representative of his seniorate.

Among the officials of the *church district* the bishop and the chief lay curator are the most important authorities. Other officials are the chief notary (assembly clerk) and vice notaries, the assessors of the church courts, the attorney and the lawyer of the church district.

The *bishop* is elected for life by the kirk-sessions of the church district from among the ordinary ministers and professors of theology, of the church district. We find the bishop's office in our church life from the times of the Reformation in all church districts, except the Cis-Tibiscan district where seniors were governing until 1735. The bishops employed other names for their office. Because Hierarchical tendencies were found quite often during the course of our church history, this title was used very cautiously in our

church. This may be the reason why, for a long time, following the example of the German Lutherans, our bishops, with the exception of Transylvania, were called superintendents. In the reform of the Hungarian Upper House in 1885, there were appointed permanently three bishops and three chief lay curators, the oldest in their offices as members of the Upper House. Since this time the name „bishop" has been used officially by civil authorities also.

But our bishops do not represent any higher ecclesiastical order and they have nothing to do with the doctrine of apostolic succession. This can be proved best by the simple fact that every elected bishop must have his own congregation under the very same circumstances as any other minister of the church district. And in the event of a professor of theology being elected to the bishop's office, he must leave his chair, but he must be elected as ordinary minister in a congregation. This ministerial service can never be separated from the bishop's office; so much so that if he should happen to accept a call as minister in another church district, he cannot hold his bishop's office any more, according to our church laws. So the bishops of the Hungarian Reformed Church are simply „primi inter pares". Another proof of that is that we have no special bishop's sees. There was more than one case when ministers of smaller congregations were elected as bishops and in such cases the bishop's „see" was not a city, but, perhaps, a little village or country town.

The election of the bishop is confirmed by the assembly of the church district and the elected bishop is installed into his office by all the seniors of the district taking a solemn oath. The rights and duties of the bishop are as follows: he summons the assembly of the church district together with the chief lay curator. He is the chairman, but always together with the chief lay curator, both at the assembly and in the sittings of the district church courts He and the curator are the two chief representatives of the district in the Synod and the General Conventus and also before the civil authorities. He sends out to ministerial service young candidates after their first ministerial examination. He ordains, together with all the seniors of his district, the newly elected ministers, catechists, schoolmasters with ministerial character, at least every second year. He superintends all the church officials, congregations, seniorates, all the schools of the district, the archives, the treasury of the district and, if circumstances allow, his duty is to visit the congregations and the schools of, at least, one of the seniorates of the district. He has to submit a full report of the conditions of the congregations and schools of the church district to every year's assembly. The deputy of the bishop, if he is prevented in his work by ill-health or if he is away from his district for a longer time, or in the case of vacancy, is the chief notary (generalis notarius) in his administrative work, but in the duties of president his deputy is the senior eldest in his office.

The *chief lay curator* is elected, in a very similar way as the bishop, by all the kirk-sessions of the district and for life. He is con-

firmed also in his office by the district assembly and he takes his office with a solemn oath before the assembly. The chief lay curator as the chief lay representative of the church district conducts the affairs of the church district in harmony and cooperation with the bishop. If he is prevented in his office, his deputy is the eldest-in-office lay curator of the seniorate.

c) Some peculiarities of the Church Constitution of Transylvania.

The Reformed Church of Transylvania, being under the protection of the Princes of Transylvania, and therefore, a quasi state or established church, had a different development in her constitution. These differences and peculiarities, though in many ways lessened, remained even after the union of Transylvania with the mother kingdom of Hungary in 1848.

Our latest church laws, (from 1904.), declared also that: „the specially developed constitution of the Transylvanian Church district as secured for it through the 1st. part of the so-called „Approbata et Compilata Constitutio" and also in §-s 2. and 3. of the „Leopoldinum Diploma", remains intact henceforth". The same laws and regulations declare that the Transylvanian district is obliged also to nominate its delegates for the Synod, and that all the regulations concerning the schools of the Church are obligatory for this district also. Lastly it is declared that the Synod is the only competent legislative body in all matters which concern the general interests of all the five church districts. According to these laws and regulations, the Transylvanian district executed some important changes in its constitution. But these changes did not come into force until May 1907. Before that time the signs of a consistorial constitution were very markedly present in the constitution of the Transylvanian district.

The chief corporate body of the church district is the district assembly which completed itself before the change of 1907, so that the members of the assembly were not elected by the kirk-sessions. The assembly elected the bishop, the chief lay curators, the notaries, the members of the governing council of the district, all the officials, professors and schoolmasters of the church high schools, the curators of the seniorates and of the colleges. The assembly of the seniorate elected the seniors, the notaries, the delegates of the seniorate sent to the district assembly, the chief curators of congregations under the immediate supervision of the bishop, the district assembly delegates of those congregations which employed, at least, three teachers at their school and all the teacher delegates sent to the district assembly. Besides the district assembly was entitled to nominate members without any special title. Thus the greater number of the members of assembly were elected or nominated by the assembly itself. But this was mainly so before the reform in 1907 only. Since that date, the assembly of the Transylvanian district is constituted also according to the principles of the synod-presbyterian

system. Half of the curators of the colleges and high schools were left out, similarly many of the schoolmasters. The curators of the seniorates were elected by the assembly of the seniorate, and that special right of the assembly was also abolished by which members were added by a simple means of nomination. Even so as a very important difference compared with the constitution of the other districts, the bishop and the chief lay curators are still elected by the assembly in Transylvania and not by the kirk-session of the congregations, and also the seniors and the curators of the seniorates are not elected either by the congregations, but by the assemblies of the seniorates. A special corporate body of the district is the so-called governing council, a similar body to which, a kind of executive committee, was formed in the other districts also during the years following the War. This arrangement became necessary owing to difficult circumstances and because in such a way many expenses of the administration were saved. This arrangement, however, was somewhat temporary. It had ceased in the Transtibiscan district already and it is going to cease soon in the Transdanubian district. Then until recent times that special right of the Crown was maintained, as a heritage of the Princes of Transylvania, that the bishop of the Transylvanian district was confirmed by the King — the other bishops were not — and he had to swear an oath of allegiance to the King personally. Another difference is that the deputy of the bishop is, both in the sphere of administrative activities and in the duties of presidency, the chief notary (generalis notarius) who oftentimes when the hostile attitude of the state caused difficulties became the successor of the bishop „cum jure successionis". This is still a living tradition in the Transylvanian church where the successors of deceased bishops used to be the chief notaries as a rule.

d) **Church Law Courts in the Hungarian Reformed Church.**

Church judicature is much more developed in the Hungarian Reformed Church than in Reformed Churches abroad. This institution is a carefully developed system in our Church. There are four classes of church law courts: those of the congregations, of seniorates, of church districts, of the Conventus. The higher classes of church law courts deal vith the disciplinary affairs of church officials and they are also courts of appeal from the lower classes of courts. The first and the last class, that in the congregation and that in the Conventus, deal with disciplinary affairs only, while the two intermediate classes are engaged with administrative affairs as well. In these classes of courts the assessors, ministers and laymen are in equal halves, which of course, cannot be done in the congregational courts where there is one minister only. The parity of minister and laymen assessors is not prescribed in our church laws for the law courts of the General Conventus.

Law Courts of the Congregations. In congregations where the number of members and adherents is smaller than two thousand there are not extra congregational church law courts established, but

the kirk-session are accredited to a certain kind of jurisdictional power. If the number of members and adherents is larger than two thousand, the kirk-session elects a church court of five to ten members. The election takes place every three years and the members are elected from the elders by secret ballot. Congregational courts deal with the disciplinary cases of church members, but not with those of church officials (ministers, assistants, curators, schoolmasters, daily school teachers, organists and elders). The president of the court is the minister and in congregations where there is a chief curator, he is a fellow-president in company with the minister. The proceedings of the court are conducted by the president elder in office. The presence of, at least, four members is necessary to a valid judgment.

The law courts of the seniorate are formed of the senior and the curator of the seniorate as presidents and of the assessors. The proceedings here also are conducted by the president elder in office. The proceedings are held usually at the time of the seniorate's assembly. But the court elects out of its members a periodical council to deal with urgent cases. This council is formed, besides the minister and lay president, out of three ordinary and three deputy assessors. At the sittings of the ordinary court the presence of, at least, five and at the sittings of the periodical council the presence of, at least, three members is necessary to a valid judgment. The law courts of the seniorate pass judgments of first instance partly in various disputed cases of church administration, partly in disciplinary cases of all the church officials of the seniorate with the exception of the senior and the curator of the seniorate. Of second instance these courts are courts of appeal for disciplinary cases dealt with at the courts of congregations.

The law courts of the church district are formed of the bishop and the chief lay curator as presidents, the seniors and the curators of the seniorates, and of the assessors of the church district. The proceedings of single cases are conducted here also by the president elder in office. The sittings are held usually at the time of the district assembly, but for urgent cases, similarly to the courts of the seniorates, there is a periodical council with five ordinary and five lay members, besides the minister (bishop) and the lay president. For a valid judgment the presence of, at least, seven members is required at the sittings of the ordinary court and that of, at least, five members at the sittings of the periodical council. The district court passes judgments on first, second and third degree both in administrative and disciplinary cases. It is competent in first degree in all disciplinary cases of professors of colleges and schoolmasters of secondary schools, sustained by the church district, and of all church officials of the district, but with the exception of the bishop and the chief lay curator. In second instance it is a court of appeal in all administrative and disciplinary cases of the seniorate's court, and, lastly, in third degree in disciplinary cases where judgments in the first and second degree differed.

The law courts of the General Conventus are an ordinary and extraordinary court and both pass judgments in disciplinary cases only.

The members of the ordinary court are: the presidents of the General Conventus, ten ordinary and five deputy assessors elected by secret ballot for a period of three years out of the members of the Conventus. The sittings are held as usual during the time of the meetings of the Conventus, but in urgent cases the court can be summoned to a sitting by the presidency at any time. The presence of, at least, seven members is required to pass a valid judgment. The ordinary court passes judgment in second degree as court of appeal for all cases of the district courts, and in third degree in those special disciplinary cases when the district and seniorate courts passed judgment, either unanimously or not, in consequence of which a church official (minister, professor, schoolmaster of church schools, etc.) is compelled to leave his place of employment or is deprived of his office definitely.

The extraordinary court of the General Conventus passes judgments in the disciplinary cases of the bishops and the chief lay curators only. It has 23 members or assessors, besides the presidency of the Conventus who are the presidents of the court. The assessors are elected out of the members of the General Conventus by secret ballot for a period of three years. The presence of, at least, 15 members is necessary to pass a valid judgment.

The public prosecutors in all classes of the courts are the attorneys of the respective church bodies. The referendaries of singular cases are as appointed members either assessors or notaries of the court. The proceedings are vocal in the first degree, but they are in writing when the proceedings are before a court of appeal. In such cases the interested parties are allowed to be present, but they are not entitled to plead.

The administrative cases of the courts comprise the complaints against the elections of ministers, professors, schoolmasters, teachers, organists, curators, elders. The courts deal also as administrative cases with all disputes arising around the payment of stipend or salaries, the valuation of payments in kind, the distribution of income between predecessor and successor, all appeals against the sum of tax assessment, etc.

The disciplinary cases of the courts include all omissions or any unlawful acts of church officials and also acts of church members who are disloyal to the faith and doctrines of the Church or are against religious feeling and public morals. The more important infractions of discipline are: the negligence of official duties according to the church laws and regulations; such acts and omissions which inflict a loss on the church and the schools of the church; disloyalty to the faith and doctrines of the Church and acts insulting religious sentiment and public morals; the abasement of the authority of the Church and the dignity of one's office or official function; disobedience to the lawful regulations and resolutions of church authorities;

the mocking in words, writing or pictures at church authorities and the laws and resolutions of the church; any usurpation of authority; all breaches of regulations at elections of ministers; perjurious accusations before church courts; any writing or teaching of church officials by which they break their official oath; any crime prosecuted by the laws of the state.

The disciplinary punishments are: censure, reproval, fine, removal from the place of employment, final deprivation from office. These are the chief punishments of church officials, beside which there are also supplementary punishments, e. g. deprivation of the right of election and of eligibility for a period from one to five years. The latter may be applied to the disciplinary punishment of church members also. The supplementary punishment of ministers may be also that they are not allowed to apply for a ministry with higher stipend for a period from one to four years.

e) **Incomes and church taxation in the Hungarian Reformed Church.**

The wealth of the Hungarian evangelical churches springs from two sources. In a smaller part it is inherited from the wealth of the previous Christian churches, but in greater part it is constituted from the voluntary gifts and donations of their members. Where whole communities went over from the Roman Catholic or from the Greek Orthodox Church to the new evangelical faith together with their landlords, both their church buildings, built either by their own efforts or with the help of the landlord, and also their church properties were owned by the new evangelical congregation. The Counter-reformation, from the end of the XVI. century, deprived the evangelical congregations of these inherited properties, of church building and land alike, even if it was a donation by their „patroni" or by the Princes of Transylvania after the time of the Reformation. So much was this the case that during the century of the most ruthless oppression in the worst times of the Counter-reformation the congregations of evangelical churches were in most part deprived entirely of their wealth and landed property. Later on, however, chiefly as the consequence of the Edict of Tolerance, issued during the reign of Joseph II. in 1781, every Protestant congregation received a building ground for the church building, manse and church schools and also a kind of „glebe" for the maintenance of the church and its schools. They received also some free allowances of firewood, right of pasturage, etc. But these endowments were not sufficient for the needs and upkeep of the churches; it was necessary therefore almost everywhere to raise church taxes in addition.

The bearing of burdens was very disproportionate in our congregations, because individual congregations lived their own life almost as independently as is the rule in the Congregational Church. There were congregations with such great landed properties and various endowments that they were self-supporting without any kind of church taxes or demand of any kind of contribution from the

church members. On the other hand, there were and there are smaller, decreasing congregations with burdens of church taxes almost unbearable, being oftentimes considerably higher than the ordinary state taxes themselves. There are congregations with 150—200 souls (which means, of course, that the number of communicants is hardly more than a few scores of members only) which keep up a church and a school, pay the stipend and salary of the minister and the teacher of the school. Even if the congregation receives smaller or greater sums of state subsidy, it needs a real spirit of sacrifice to bear all the burdens necessary to maintain congregations.

The church taxes are of two kinds: ordinary and extraordinary taxes. The ordinary taxes secure the costs of upkeep of the church and its schools, the payments for the Central Fund and the contributions for the costs of higher church administration. The seniorate, the district and also the General Conventus and the Synod impose a certain amount on every congregation, according to the number of members and adherents; and the kirk-session are obliged to provide for these sums in the yearly budget of the congregation. Ordinary church taxes are to be paid by every grown up member of the congregation, even if he is not living within the territory of the political community, but if he has a landed property there or if he has an ordinary income there on which he pays ordinary taxes to the state. In this latter case, however, the measure of the taxes is lower. It is 25 per cent only, if he has a landed property and it is 50 per cent, if he has an income otherwise.

Whenever a congregation has to spend a greater amount of money owing to greater repairs of old or to erection of new buildings or owing to any other unexpected circumstances, and if this amount cannot be raised by free offerings and if it overburdens the ordinary budget, the congregation has the right to ask its superior authorities to collect *extraordinary taxes* for a period of one or more years. These extraordinary taxes are collected also up to a measure of 25 per cent from church members who do not stay permanently within the territory of the parish, but have landed property there. At the assessment of both ordinary and extraordinary taxes heads of families with more children are given an abatement of taxes, up to 15 per cent, if they have four or five children, and up to 25 per cent with six or more children. The collection of both ordinary and extraordinary taxes takes place in kind, in various services rendered by the members of the congregation and in cash, in many cases exclusively in ready money only.

The assessment and collection of taxes is the duty of the kirk-session. The kirk-session draws up a statement of assets, placing to the credit of the congregation the buildings, landed property, funds, endowments, the likely income of certain profitable rights and privileges; to the debit, on the other hand, all the liabilities of the congregation, first of all ordinary and yearly expenses. A similar statement of assets is prepared, if the congregation, either by itself or in company with other bodies, maintains a secondary school or a college.

These statements of assets are presented to the seniorate on account of audit and approval. It is the duty of the kirk-session to draw up a budget for every financial year and prepare the assessment of the following year's taxes which will cover the ordinary yearly expenses. The kirk-session exhibits for public inspection a register of the assessed taxes and sends a note about the amount of taxes to those landowner members of the congregation who have not a permanent residence in the parish. The members of the congregation are entitled to appeal against the assessment of their taxes to the kirk-session, and in the event of not being satisfied with its decision, they may appeal to the administrative court of the seniorate also. The decision of the latter is final. The congregations are empowered to collect the legally valid taxes with the help of civil authorities if it is needed.

The congregation is entitled also to fix the key of the taxes. If there arises a need to change the prevailing key of taxes and if they do not apply for any subsidy from the general tax abatement funds, the congregation is empowered to introduce a new key of taxation which is more suitable to their needs and circumstances. The kirk-session after drawing up a proposal for the change of the key of the taxation, presents it to the general meeting of the congregation and the decision of this meeting is sent up for approval to the assembly of the seniorate whose decision in final.

There cannot be levied any taxes on church members under the age of twenty years unless they have landed property or any form of wealth of their own. On the other hand church officials are obliged to pay taxes after their income received from the congregation. The tax assessing committee of the kirk-session is entitled to classify church members according to their wealth and income or to levy the taxes according to their direct state taxes. If the assembly of the seniorate is informed that the amount of taxation, levied by a certain key of taxes, is not sufficient for the needs of the congregation or the taxes are disproportionately great or small according to the wealth and income of the members, it is empowered to instruct the congregation to change their actual keys of taxation. And if the congregation does not follow the instruction within the next year, the seniorate sets up an inquiry and provides for a proposal accordingly, which after the approval of both the seniorate's and the district assembly will be final and legally valid.

It was a very important reform established according to our newest church laws when with the help of the state and with some funds of the church, a *General Tax-abatement Fund* was created in order to lighten the too heavy taxation burdens of the congregations. This Fund is under the management of the General Conventus and every congregation may receive assistance from the fund which proves that it cannot cover its ordinary expenses, even after introducing the normal key of taxation prescribed in the church laws. Every congregation anxious to obtain subsidy from the fund has to introduce the following key of taxation: every church member over 20 years of age, if he or she has his or her own wealth or income

or if he keeps a house or is the head of family. The personal tax is 2 crowns (40 cents) for those who do not pay taxes to the state, but it rises gradually. The income tax is 10 per cent of the direct state taxes. The congregation may apply for tax-abatement subsidy in that case only, if they are able to prove that their actual taxes paid in kind services and cash give the same amount which might be reached by the above detailed normal key of taxation.

In connection with the introduction of this new method of church taxation the church laws ordered the fixing of stipends also. The congregation, applying for subsidy from the Tax-abatement Fund, has to enclose with its application a statement of its income according to its old key of taxation; another statement of the stipends being in force before the introduction of the new method of taxation; then a proposal for tax assessments, fixed individually for every church member and the necessary changes in the amount of stipends, that is to say a „normal budget"; and lastly the congregational accounts, approved by the seniorate, for the last five years. According to these enclosures the amount of tax-abatement subsidy is fixed which may be changed during the next ten years in the event only if the ordinary incomes of the congregation are showing a considerable and unavoidable decrease.

Scarcely had the first period of ten years elapsed when, and as a matter of fact before the real inauguration of this reform of church taxation, there arrived the great economical and financial debacle following the Great War. The state subsidy for the Tax-abatement Fund could not be paid for many years in real value, owing to the rapid depreciation of our money standard. The same subsidy is paid even now only in a small proportion of its former value; and thus the hopes attached to this well-planned reform of tax-abatement were never realized. And to return to the old ways to pay the church taxes meant oftentimes very hard burdens to the otherwise empoverished congregations and led to unfortunate quarrels and misunderstandings in more cases than one. The situation became worse in many congregations, because their funds which were invested in various securities and most often in war bonds were practically wiped out. In such circumstances the whole tax abating scheme aided by the state brought confusion only. Church members were entertained by the thought for a few years that their burden of taxation would be lighter, but they had to see soon with disillusionment that their burdens remained as heavy as they had been before.

The heavy burdens of small congregations were relieved, even before this projected and not completely executed scheme of tax-abatement, through the *Central Fund* of our Church, established by the first General Synod of our Church in 1881. The main object of the establishment of this Fund was to strengthen and develop our Church and first of all our congregations whenever congregations were in need, and the necessary help and aid could not be given either by the seniorate or by the church district. The laws of the above mentioned Synod state in six points the most important tasks

and duties of the Central Fund: a) to give help and aid to such small and weak congregations as are not self-supporting, and the support neither of the seniorate nor the church district is sufficient for their upkeep; b) in places, where it seems to be necessary, to help the formation of new congregations and the building of churches and schools of the newly formed congregations and also to give the necessary support for their upkeep; c) to raise the amount of stipend in congregations which are too small and weak to pay the minimum amount to their ministers; d) to give support for an adequate religious instruction in congregations where there is need of denominational schools that cannot be carried out properly; e) to carry out home mission work amongst the *diaspora* of the Church, establishing for that purpose preaching stations and employing home mission workers, first of all ministers for the accomplishment of that work; f) and lastly to support the Aged Ministers, Widows, and Orphans General Pension Fund.

To the upkeep of this Central Fund every congregation has to pay a quota per head of 8 fillérs (something less than 2 cents or about 3 farthings) after the number of all the members and adherents, and has to secure that amount in every year's budget. There cannot be any exception whatever of the payment of this 8 fillérs quota for any congregation, not even for that which is supported or it may be entirely kept up by the Central Fund. The increase of the Central Fund is secured by the yearly capitalization of the 20 per cent. of its income, then by all endowments, donations, and legacies of church bodies or individual members, and lastly through the collection on the last Sunday of October, in the meantime a Commemoration Sunday of the Reformation, in every congregation. There is an Executive Committee responsible for the upkeep and all business of the Central Fund. Each church district sends two ordinary and one deputy member into this Committee. The Committee itself elects its chairman, deputy chairman and its referendary.

It has been mentioned already that 20 per cent. of the income is capitalized every year; 25 per cent. of the income must be spent on missionary purposes and the remaining 55 per cent. is divided amongst the above detailed purposes, but at least another 25 per cent. must be spent on the missionary work in the diaspora. The great financial upheaval of the post-war years annihilated almost completely the capital of the Central Fund, amounting in 1918 to 7.715,115 crowns (1.543,023 dollars) and we have to start with the work from the beginning again.

The same sad fate befell another and similar institution of the Hungarian Reformed Church. This institution is our Aged Ministers, Widows and Orphans General Pension Fund. The Fund originally did not give pensions to aged ministers and in its present form was created only by the third General Synod in 1904. Since then, the Fund includes not only widows and orphans of ministers, but all ordinary and missionary ministers, ministers employed by public institutions or for religious education and organists who are not daily

school teachers in the meantime. Ministers before that time served, almost without exception, until the end of their lives; and the intention of the Pension Fund's reform was mainly to give relief to aged ministers and secure also congregations from the necessary drawbacks of too old ministers. To the upkeep and the increase of the capital of this Pension Fund all congregations served by a minister and an organist have to pay their fixed contributions. The Pension Fund was a very flourishing institution of our Church. Its capital was 12,060.440 crowns (2,412.088 dollars) in 1918, but in the catastrophical depreciation of our money the funds were wellnigh completely destroyed and the difficulties in carrying on its work became almost insurmountable. When circumstances became a little better, the Executive Committee of the Pension Fund put in order first of all the pensions of the widows and orphans and (because the cost of living is now much higher than it was before the War) in a manner more favourable than before. Later on the valuation of the ministers' pensions followed up to 50 per cent. of the previous value and now the amount of pensions is fixed in Pengős with only 20 per cent. less than it was in pre-war times.

f) **The next tasks and problems for Reformed Church Legislation.**

We have seen already that the latest Synods of our Church approached in a great measure the great principles of Calvinism. There are still many problems and tasks, however, before the church legislative in this respect.

With respect to *church organisation* the relation between the two general corporate bodies of our Church, the General Conventus and the General Synod, must be regulated first of all according to Presbyterian principles. There is no adequate coherence between them at the present time, in spite of the fact that the Conventus excercises full ecclesiastical power whenever the Synod is not assembled; then the Conventus is empowered to prepare the meetings of the Synod and execute its laws and resolutions. There are two solutions possible: either the members of the General Conventus will be elected by the congregations or the General Conventus will be delegated from amongst the members of the General Synod as a permanent committee of the latter. The other great and urgent problem of our Church is to divide the great parishes into more separate living congregations. Practically it is according to Roman Catholic practice that 10—15 thousand members and adherents, sometimes even more than that, should be left under the care of a single minister who is helped in his work by a number of assistants. Such ministers are frankly scarcely anything but machines who baptise, marry and bury almost mechanically but who are and cannot be by any means pastors who know and serve their own flock. Then the care of the diaspora is a very important problem, because a great many members of our Church live not within an organized congregation. Our Church is constantly exposed to considerable loss in

this respect by the proselytising tendencies of both the Roman Catholic Church and of the various smaller sects. Though this work is done through the congregations, the direction of the work is cared for by the higher bodies and authorities of the Church.

The right selection of its elders is a very important question for our Church. Though there are welcome signs of improvement in this respect, many things are yet to be done. The elders have to take interest not in the material affairs of their congregation only, but in the spiritual work as well. Il we can have ten or twenty thousand of such elders, it gives our Church much greater strength than all the great wealth and wonderfully built up organisation of the Roman Catholic Church! There must be given a greater sphere of activity to deacons and deaconesses in our congregations where the most important work of the tending of the poor undoubtedly lost its force during the later years which, however, never can be absent in congregations, built and organized on the great principles of Calvinism. The representative system, so essential in Presbyterianism, makes it necessary that the method of reelection of officials, must be established as obligatory regarding all church officials and not as it is more or less now, in the case of the elders and some officials only. Then it would be desirable that, instead of the various periods of 3, 5, 6, 10 or 12 years, a uniform period of certain years should be introduced. It does not seem to be a very consistent way that there should be needed a period of 10 years at the reelection of a certain church official and 5 or 3 years only at another. The period of 12 years for the reelection of elders has proved to be too long. Shorter periods would bring more enthusiasm and liveliness into the election of elders and thereby into the life of the congregations as well.

There is need for reform at the *election of ministers* also. Here, maintaining the greatest possible purity in the election and punishing very severely every abuse at the elections, we must assure a certain way of progress for the ministers. We must give a certain measure of intervention to higher church authorities at the elections of ministers, not only in the cases of the so called missionary congregations, but everywhere where the Reformed congregation, as the representative of a minority church, e. g. in great Roman Catholic country towns or in towns where there are many and important schools or colleges, fulfills a very important, sometimes almost delicate position. Such congregations, though they may be self-supporting, must be classified as missionary congregations. But even if such interference would be proved to be impossible, so much, at least, could be agreed upon that no one could be elected in such congregations without serving for certain years in some other congregations. Besides, we must give greater possibilities for exchange and transfer of ministers, and also of schoolmasters and teachers in the various denominational schools. The various home-missionary and evangelical work cannot be left entirely to the judgment of individual ministers. That must be established also as an obligatory sphere of activity in the ordinary congregational work.

There is a need for reform in *church jurisdiction* also. It is necessary first of all that those who take an active part in church administration should not be at the same time members of church courts. Then we have to reform generally our church discipline. One can see in this respect very clearly that our code of church laws was drawn up by such jurists of our Church who however eminent in their own profession did not grasp completely the spirit of Calvin. The laws and regulations of our church code is severe enough when disciplinary punishments must be applied against church officials, and we must bear witness with satisfaction to the severe discipline with which church courts punish every negligence or unworthiness of any kind of church officials. But against church membres there are only censure, reproval and deprivation from the right of election or of eligibility as possible punishment in the disciplinary cases of church members. The church as a moral body cannot exist, if she has not the right to exclude those who by their immorality endanger the moral purity of the church or those who, by promising their children to another denomination, deny their own church. The church cannot be the „community of saints" if notorious criminals are allowed to remain members and may have, if even nominally, equal rights with other members of the same congregation. In this respect there is no progress, not even a kind of slackness only, but a sharply noticeable decline, because in olden times the severe disciplinary principles of Calvinism were applied in their fullness in the Hungarian Reformed Church. We see, however, now and then some promising signs which seem to prove that public opinion in our Church is getting to feel more and more definitely that the old severity of church discipline, when members could be sent away from the communion table and expelled also from the church if necessary, must be restored. In old Calvinistic churches of Hungary there used to be a specially designated place for penitent sinners. One can see still the old blackened repentance stone against the wall of the church in a great town congregation, and the annals of the church record quite a large number of cases when members of very influential families had to sit on that stone. The old puritan way of living in the country congregations has vanished almost entirely. The youth, both girls and young men, of the simple village folk are getting more and more anxious to imitate the life of the town. And so the disappearance of the old, severe way of church discipline has become more and more manifest. It is well to be reminded of the fact that this puritan church discipline made Calvinists, (not only in Hungary, but everywhere in the world), famous for their morally pure and stainless lives. And this was one of the main causes further on why they became, according to the testimony of sociologists, the wealthiest citizens of communities everywhere. This was the way of the Hungarian Calvinists also. They were oppressed and had to leave often their former homes in order to settle down in places where they could worship God freely, yet even so, they soon became conspicuously well-to-do among their own fellow-citizens. The great principle must

be victorious again in our Church according to which our strength does not depend on the number of church members, but much more on the depth of their faith and the moral purity of their lives. The danger is not when a congregation remains for years without a pastor — as there were hundreds of congregations without ministers during the XVIII. century and still they survived — but when an unscrupulous and negligent minister destroys a congregation.

With regard to the *bearing of the burdens of the church* the type of congregations which live by and for themselves, as congregations of the congregationalist church do, must be displaced by another type which fulfills the great Christian principle: „Bear ye one another's burdens." It is desirable that juster proportions should be reached in view both of the amount of stipends and the burdens of single congregations. We may reach or, at least, approach that aim either by a generally adopted system of church taxation or by creating general church supporting funds or developing better and better our Central Fund. Even if the great Christian principles would not show us this way, the probable cessation of state endowments and subsidies, which sooner or later but undoubtedly will take place, will enforce us to follow this way. Neither our Church nor our congregations should ever forget this possibility or rather probability, and we must be prepared for it by collecting both general and congregational funds.

The thought that weaker congregations were helped by stronger ones was quite familiar for Hungarian Reformed people in the past. We find mentioned very often in our church history „protegentes ecclesiae", „sanctae congregationes benefacientes" which helped poorer sister congregations either in their vicinity or oftentimes in a far away district. So the „sacra congregatio benefaciens" of Szentgál helped the small and weak congregation of Nagyvázsony and some others too, and besides ministers, teachers, even the Roman Catholic friars, giving timber to the Franciscans of Veszprém when they were rebuilding their monastery. But one of the finest examples of helping the weaker brothers was when the Hungarian Reformed Church, after the issue of the Edict of Tolerance during the reign of of Joseph II. in 1781, lent a helping hand to the Czech Reformed Church. They were at that time in great need of ministers and the Hungarian Reformed divinity students and young ministers went to Bohemia. They soon learned the Czech language and settled down there, being the founders of many Bohemian ministerial families who are still in the service of the Bohemian Reformed Church. Such was the spirit of brotherly help in the past of the Hungarian Reformed Church, but the tradition is still living and the unselfish help of the weaker brother never can be alien to the congregations and individual members of the Hungarian Reformed Church.

2. The Constitution of the Hungarian Lutheran Church.

The autonomy of the Hungarian Lutheran Church is secured by the XXVI. Act of Parliament, 1791, according to which this Church also conducts her own church and school affairs with full independence. And it is a peculiar fact that the latest constitution of the Hungarian Lutheran Church which was drawn up and adopted at the General Synod of 1891—94, differs very much from the constitution of any other Lutheran Church abroad and is very near to the constitution of the Hungarian Reformed Church. Nothing may prove this better than the simple fact that according to the very word of their church constitution „every power in the Hungarian Lutheran Church is originated from the congregations" and, as a matter of fact, their whole constitution is built up on the system of progressive representation, i. e. the meeting of the members of the congregation sends its representatives to the assembly of the seniorate; the latter again sends representatives to the higher representative body, i. e. the assembly of the church district which elects lastly its deputies to the General Assembly which stands above all the church districts. This progressive representation, however, is not fully developed as some of the higher church officials are elected by the congregations. Then the highest legislative and executive body is in the Lutheran Church also the General Synod. Another parallel between the churches is that there exists in both a parity of clerical and lay elements as the words of the constitution go: „the equal influence of the ministerial and lay elements must be unimpairedly secured". But this principle of the parity of the two elements falls short in one important point, i. e. the highest personal authority of the Hungarian Lutheran Church, the so called Chief Church and School Inspector, must be always a layman, very similiarly as was the former dynastic head of the German and more particulary of the Prussian Lutheran Church, but, of course, in Hungary he had never anything to do with the ruling dynasty. Another important difference between the two churches is that the power and the rights of the kirk-session is without any importance as compared with the power and the rights of the general meeting of church members. Then professors, teachers and schoolmasters of the various degrees of the church schools and colleges have a much larger influence in church administration, and legislation too, than is the case in the Reformed Church, with the exception, perhaps, of the Transylvanian District.

Church membership is, as in other churches of Hungary, obligatory. According to the civil laws of the country everybody who belongs to the Lutheran confession and stays for six weeks within the territory of a Lutheran parish or missionary district becomes automatically a member of the respective Lutheran congregation. The laws secure the right of all the church members to partake in the government of the church, but, on the other hand, oblige them to share in the burdens of the church. The women have not direct franchise in the Lutheran Church: they have it indirectly. The members

of the so-called general meeting of the congregation, which is the main source of all ecclesiastical power in the Lutheran Church, can only be the full aged male members of the congregations who are paying contributions to the burdens of the congregation in the form of church taxation. In congregations where the usual expenses of the congregations are not paid out of taxes of individual members, all full aged male church members are the members of the general meeting of the congregation. The women members of the congregation have to nominate as representatives one of the male members of the congregation, but every man can be the representative of one woman member only.

a) **Church organisation. The corporate bodies of the Lutheran Church.**

The congregations are grouped in the Lutheran Church also into seniorates, the seniorates into church districts and the latter ones together into the general body of the Hungarian Lutheran Church. The church governing corporate bodies of the Lutheran Church are therefore the congregations, the seniorates, the church districts and the general church. The governing and representative body of the congregation is the general meeting, that of the seniorate is the assembly of the seniorate, then the district assembly and lastly the general assembly. The assemblies of the higher church bodies, which are all public, are constituted of a much greater number of members than the respective assemblies of the Reformed Church, especially the General Assembly of the Lutheran Church which is a much more numerous assembly than the General Conventus of the Reformed Church.

In the *congregation* in the same way as in the Reformed Church there are two governing and administrative bodies: the general meeting of the congregation and the kirk-session, but the more important is here the former one, quite differently from the Reformed Church where the power of this meeting is very limited compared with the power and different rights of the kirk-session.

The members of the *general meeting of the congregation* are all the officials of the congregation: the ordinary minister or his substitute, the assistant, the inspector and the vice-inspector, the curator, the treasurer, the notary, the lawyer, the auditor, the schoolmasters and teachers of the schools of the congregation and the organist; then all full aged male members of the congregation who are each entitled to represent a woman member, occasionally the partner of a mixed marriage, if she contributes to the financial burdens of the congregation. There is a double (ministerial and lay) presidency which is filled as a rule by the minister and the inspector. The most important items of the general meeting's sphere of activity are: to elect all the church officials, to send representatives to the seniorate assembly, to vote at the election of the inspector of the seniorate or church district. The meeting supervises and directs the financial affairs of the congregation and approves of the yearly

accounts. But to raise new taxes or to change the key of the existing church taxes, to purchase or sell any property, to borrow or to start with a new building, the approval of the seniorate's assembly or in urgent cases that of the presidency is necessary. The general meeting of the congregation must be summoned, at least, once a year, but besides as many times as the current affairs of the congregation make necessary. In congregations where the membership of the general meeting exceeds 300 a part of the ordinary business can be transferred to the kirk-session; or, with the approval of the church district, the congregation may delegate a larger committee which, with the exception of the election of the ministers, the elders and the members of this committee, conducts all the current affairs of the congregation.

The *kirk-session* is constituted also of members in virtue of their office and of members elected. The members by office are: the ordinary minister or his substitute, the assistant, the inspector and the vice-inspector, the curator, the treasurer, the notary, the auditor, the lawyer, the headmasters, schoolmasters and teachers of the school, maintained by the congregation. The number of the elected members is fixed by the general meeting, but this number cannot be under ten and above sixty. Every church member of blameless character who is above 24 years of age can be elected to the membership of the kirk-session. The presidents of the kirk-session are, as a rule, the minister and the inspector. The sphere of activity of the kirk-session is settled by the appointment of the general meeting of the congregation, but usually it is much less important than that of the general meeting.

The *seniorate* or the presbytary is constituted in the Lutheran Church also by certain numbers of congregations in order to form a corporate body of church government and administration. The seniorates are of different size in the Lutheran Church also, both by the number of their constituting congregations and of their members and adherents. The later church laws abolished the privilege of the Lutheran congregations of certain royal boroughs according to which, exactly the same way as it was in the Transylvanian Reformed Church, they were exempted from the seniorates and belonged directly to the church districts.

The representative and governing body of the seniorate is the *seniorate's assembly* which is summoned by the senior and the inspector at least once a year, but besides, as many times as the majority of the congregations require it; or it is ordered by higher church authorities. The chairmen of the assembly are usually the senior and the inspector, or if they are prevented by some reason, the vice-senior or the vice-inspector. The constituents of the assembly are partly members by office, partly elected. The members by office are: the senior, the vice-senior, the inspector, the vice-inspector, the assessors of the church court, the notary, the treasurer, the inspector-minister of the church schools, the lawyer or attorney of the seniorate, the auditor; all the ministers, ordinary or substitute, inspector and

vice-inspectors of the congregations, the headmasters and inspectors of all the high schools and colleges within the territory of the seniorate. Elected members are the delegates of the congregations and one representative of the teacher association of the seniorate.

The sphere of activity of the assembly comprises generally every church and school affair of the seniorate. Its duty is to watch whether ministers and teachers in the churches and schools preach and teach according to the faith and dogmas of the Church; it keeps watch over the autonomy and all legal rights and privileges of the Church (the same must be done by all the three degrees of church authorities); it approves the yearly reports of the seniorate's presidency (in the Reformed Church the senior has a yearly report only) and other reports of church officials and it acts as a court of appeal too. The seniorate's assembly supervises the work of the denominational schools also; it administers the financial affairs of the seniorate, audits the accounts of the seniorate's treasury; it supervises the administration of all the funds and endowments of the seniorate and also its humanitarian institutions; the assembly has the right to decide in all cases concerning the stipends of the ministers and the teachers of denominational schools, and lastly, the assembly sends representatives to the district assembly, the lowest number being two and the highest eight, according to the size of the seniorate, and always in equal number ministers and laymen. The assembly may send more representatives than this official number, but these members have not the right to vote at the assembly, though they are sent as deputy delegates and take the places of those official representatives who are prevented from being present.

In the seniorates of the Lutheran Church the senior and the inspector are elected only by the congregations, all the other officials, including the assembly clerks or notaries and the assessors of the court, are elected by the assembly for a period of six years. The voting in most cases happens through the votes of the individual members, but in those cases in which the opinion of the congregations was specially consulted or if new church taxes or a change in the key of taxation is moved, the vote is cast by the representatives of the congregations, constituting the assembly, and if the votes are equal, the greater number of members and adherents decides.

The *church district* is formed as a higher authority out of more seniorates. These church districts in the Lutheran Church are of more or less equal size according to the numbers of the constituting seniorates. In the Cisdanubian district and in the Bányai district there are 9—9, in the Transdanubian district 10 and in the Tibiscan district, together with the Brassó Hungarian Lutheran Seniorate which was separated from the Transylvanian Saxon Lutheran Church, 11 seniorates.

The representative and administrative body of the church district is the *district assembly* which is convoked at least once a year, but in more cases also when the majority of the seniorates or the presidency of the district think it to be necessary. The two

chairmen of the assembly are the bishop and the inspector of the district or if they are prevented from being present or if their office is vacant, the senior and the seniorate's inspector who are eldest in office. The assembly is convoked by the bishop and the inspector of the district in agreement, but if any of them is prevented or his office is vacant, the other is entitled to convoke the assembly alone. And in case both should be prevented, the assembly is convened by the senior and the seniorate's inspector eldest in office.

The district assembly has also members who sit in the assembly in virtue of their office and members who are elected. The members by office are: the bishop, the inspector of the district, the assessors of the district court, the assembly clerks, the treasurer, the attorney or the lawyer, the auditor, the registrar, the representatives of the seniorates and of the different denominational schools, the presidencies of the seniorates, the headmasters and inspectors of the district's high schools and colleges. Elected members are the delegates of the district's elementary schools.

The district assembly has a very wide sphere of activity in various kinds of church and school affairs. It deals with and approves of the yearly report of the bishop. It takes special care for the work in the diaspora and gives material support to ministers and catechists engaged in this work. The assembly approves of the reports of the various church officials; it acts as a court of appeal in administrative affairs; it supervises thoroughly all kinds of church schools and also the humanitarian institutions of the district; it deals with all the material and financial affairs and audits the yearly accounts of the church district, and the accounts of the funds and endowments of the church district. It is the final forum for all discussed affairs about the stipends of ministers and the salaries of teachers. The assembly executes the resolutions of the General Assembly and also deals with state decrees concerning the affairs of the Church. And lastly the district assembly sends official delegates to the General Assembly, i. e., two delegates — one minister and one layman for each twenty congregations. But the district assembly may also send more delegates also who are without the right to vote at the General Assembly, but who are deputy delegates, if any of the official delegates are prevented from being present.

In the Lutheran Church the bishop and district inspector are elected only by the congregations, all the other district officials, including the assembly clerks and the assessors of the district court, are elected by the assembly for a period of six years. Voting happens as a rule through the individual members of the assembly, but in cases in which the opinion of the seniorates was asked beforehand, or in all matters which are connected with the voting of new taxes or the change in the key of taxation, the representatives of the seniorates ask their special votes. In cases like these, if the votes are equal, the majority of the number of members and adherents of the respective seniorates decides.

The *universal body of the Lutheran Church* consists of all the church districts, with the exception of the Transylvanian Saxon Church. The main governing and administrative organ of the General Church is the *General Assembly* which must be convoked, at least, once a year, but in all cases when the Assembly itself, or at least, two church districts, or the chief inspector of the church and the schools (the constant lay moderator), or the bishop oldest in office, consider it to be necessary. The General Assembly is convoked by the chief inspector and by the bishop eldest in office. If the former is prevented or his place is vacant, his place is taken by the district inspector eldest in office.

Central building of the Lutheran Church.

The General Assembly has also members by office and those elected. The members by office are: first the highest official of the General Church: the chief inspector of the church and the schools, the bishop eldest in office (these two as fellow-chairmen of the meetings of the Assembly), the chairman and the deputy chairman of the General Committee of Education, the Principal of the Divinity College of the General Church (at present non-existent), the assessors of the General Court, the President of the General Pension Fund, the chief and the vice-notary, the attorney general, the treasurer, the auditor, the librarian, the archivist. Then the representatives of the church district are: the presidents (ministerial and lay) of the church districts and principals of the colleges. Elected members are: the delegates of the church districts and two elected delegates of the church high schools of each church district.

The General Assembly brings resolutions and conducts all affairs which do not belong to any other church authority. It deals with and approves of the yearly report of the chief inspector; it acts as court of appeal; it finally decides in all disputed cases of the church districts; it is the highest authority in all matters concer-

ning education. The General Assembly decides about the constitution of colleges, high and elementary schools; it provides for text and schoolbooks; it approves any contract concerning state endowments for denominational schools; it determines the rules for the examinations of ministers, catechists, professors of theological colleges, their ordination and the form of their oath of office. The General Assembly administers the properties, funds and endowments and approves of the yearly accounts of the General Church, it administers also the Central Fund, the General Pension Fund, and controls the activity of all the other general institutions and societies; it elects all the officials of the General Church with the exception of the chief inspector, but including the assessors of the General Court. The General Assembly is the responsible body concerning the execution of the laws and orders of the State; it prepares and convokes the General Synod and executes all the laws and orders codified and incorporated therein. The voting as a rule is by the individual members of the Assembly, but in cases where the opinion of the church districts was asked beforehand, the representatives and delegates of the church district have a special right to vote. If the number of votes is equal, the majority of the number of congregations, represented by the respective church districts, decides.

b) **The chief Church officials. Individual functionaries in the Lutheran Church**

In the different degrees of the autonomous church-governing and administrating bodies a number of different church officials function. The most important ones among them are the presidencies of these corporate bodies. The ministerial and lay church officials according to the words of the church laws „with equal rights and responsibility" officiate in their sphere of activity. The presidency comprises in the congregation the inspector and the minister, in the seniorate the seniorate's inspector and the senior, in the church district the district's inspector and the bishop, and in the General Church the chief inspector of the church and the schools and the bishop eldest in office. It is interesting to note that the church laws of the Lutheran Church mention everywhere the names of the lay officials first and only then the ministerial ones.

The governing and representative presidency of the *congregation* consists of the inspector and the minister who conduct the affairs of the congregation in cooperation.

The inspector of the congregation is elected by the members of the general meeting of the congregation for a certain number of years from among the universally esteemed, well educated, morally irreproachable, religious and materially independent lay members of the congregation. He is guardian and responsible for the material wellbeing of the congregation. His office is „nobile officium".

The *minister* is the spiritual pastor of his congregation. He keeps watch over the faithfulness and moral purity of the members of the congregation. The laws mention amongst his duties the pastoral visi-

tation of the members of his congregation. Ministers can be elected only (not called) in the Lutheran Church. The conditions of the election are: that the elected minister should be over 24 years of age, of irreproachable character, a Hungarian citizen; and he must pass the examinations ordered by the laws of the General Church. The laws oblige each church district to present for approval to the General Assembly the regulations concerning the election of the ministers. At the election meeting of the congregation the fellow-chairmen are the senior and the seniorate's inspector or their appointed deputies. The meeting of the congregation elects the minister by the absolute majority of votes for life, and the elected minister is installed in his office by the senior or his deputy. The minimum stipend is fixed by the laws of the Lutheran Church also in 1600 crowns (320 dollars). For six months after the death of the minister the entire income and the use of the manse belong to the widow, respectively to the under age children or disabled parents of the minister. But if nobody remains after the minister the income of three months is due to the General Pension Fund.

The governing and the representative presidency of the *seniorate* consist of the seniorate's inspector and of the senior who administer the affairs of the seniorate in cooperation. The *senior* is elected from among the ministers of the seniorate and the *seniorate's inspector* from among the laymen of the Lutheran Church and he must be a Hungarian citizen. They are elected for a period of six years by the congregations and by the high schools and colleges of the seniorate. The elected inspector or senior is installed into his office by the seniorate's assembly. If the senior's office is in vacancy, his place is taken either by the deputy-senior or the seniorate's notary and the same happens with the office of the seniorate's inspector in a case of vacancy. The inspector and the senior supervise together all the affairs and properties of the congregations and the schools. The inspector and the senior are obliged to visit the congregations and the schools from time to time and present a report yearly about the conditions therein to the seniorate's assembly; and if the bishop is on a visiting tour in their seniorate they have to accompany him. They supervise the work of the church officials also. They deal primarily with the disciplinary cases of church officials and they have even the right to suspend them if their previous warnings were without effect.

The presidency of the *church district* consists of the district's inspector and of the bishop who govern and represent the district with equal rights and responsibility and administer its affairs in cooperation.

The *bishop* is elected from among the acting ministers and professors of theology of the church district and the *district's inspector* from among the laymen of the Lutheran Church and he must be a Hungarian citizen. They are both elected for life — as in the Reformed Church — by the congregations and high schools and colleges. The bishop — similarly again to the Reformed Church — must be

at the same time a minister in a congregation. But the laws prescribe that be must have an assistant minister. The elected bishop or the elected inspector is installed solemnly with an oath of office by the district's assembly. If the bishop's office is vacant, his place is taken temporarily by the senior eldest in office, or the place of the district's inspector by the seniorate's inspector eldest in office. Though the laws emphasise specially that, except in those rights and duties which are due to the bishop according to his ministerial character, the district's inspector is accredited with equal rights and duties with the bishop, the latter is first of all responsible for the direction of the district's administration. The bishop supervises, together with the district's inspector, the schools of the district and also the work of the various church officials and committees. It is their duty to see whether the teaching and the doctrines of the church are observed duly and if anybody seems to be negligent or reproachable in any way, they have the right to such an extent that they may dismiss them, if that seems to be necessary. They have to supervise the material and financial affairs of the district also. The bishop and the district's inspector are in constant touch with the chief inspector of the church and the schools and with the presidencies of the other church districts. The laws mention as a special duty of the bishop to visit the district's congregations, to supervise the training and education of candidates in the theological colleges and the work of training colleges of school teachers. He has to present a yearly report to the district's assembly about the conditions of the congregations and church schools. He makes arrangements about the ordination of young ministers and he consecrates the new church buildings, though he may entrust one of the seniors with that duty.

The *chief inspector of the church and schools* governs and represents the Lutheran Church as highest church authority. He is elected for life from among the Hungarian citizen lay members of the Lutheran Church by all the congregations, high schools and colleges. After his election he is installed solemnly with an oath of office by the General Assembly. His sphere of activity is regulated by the General Assembly. He submits his annual report to the General Assembly. If his office is vacant, it is temporarily taken by the district's inspector eldest in office.

c) The Synod.

The highest legislative and administering body of the Hungarian Lutheran Church is the Synod. The Synod is convened by the chief inspector and its duration is of three years from its first meeting. During these three years it can be convoked as often as the General Assembly considers it to be necessary. The meetings of the Synod are held always with consent of the head of the State. This is a better solution than that of the Reformed Church where the Synod must be convoked in every ten years, no matter whether there is the necessity or not for any new legislation.

The Synod is constituted of members by office and of those elected. The members by office are: the chief inspector, the bishops and inspectors of the church districts, and the presidents of the Relief Fund. Elected members are: the delegates of the seniorates. Seniorates with 20 or less congregations send each 2, seniorates with more than 20 congregations send each 4, colleges each 1, high schools and teachers' training colleges 2 delegates and elementary schools 1 delegate from each church district. The delegates of the seniorates are elected by the general meetings of the congregations, and the ministerial and lay members are elected always in equal numbers. Every congregation casts its vote on as many members as are sent by the seniorate and every congregation has as many votes for as many ordinary ministers as are employed by it. The colleges elect themselves their delegates, but not necessarily from among the professors of their own college. The delegates of the high schools and teachers' colleges are elected by the staffs of the respective schools, but they may also elect their delegates not necessarily from the schools of their own church district. The teacher delegates of the Synod are elected by each church district from among all the teachers of the denominational schools of the Lutheran Church. If the votes are equal at the election of the school and college delegates the decision is made by drawing of lots. The election is valid for the whole period of three years of the Synod. Everybody may have a mandate to the Synod from one place only.

The Synod after a solemn opening service holds its constituent assembly with the chief inspector and the bishop eldest in office as fellow-chairmen. The notaries (minute clerks) are the two youngest ministerial and lay members of the Synod. Then a committee is formed and after the verification of the two-third of the members' mandating letters by this Committee the chairman submits a report on the result of the work of the Committee. After which the Synod elects three ministerial and three lay presidents, three ministerial and three lay notaries (minute clerks) and the master of the Synod. Later on the course of proceedings is decided upon and the various committees are formed. The Synod may adjourn its meetings for a shorter or longer period of time and it may declare its dissolution even before the end of the third year. The allowances of the members of the Synod are provided for by the respective church districts and all the other costs of the Synod are to be met proportionally by all the church districts.

d) **Jurisdiction in the Lutheran Church.**

There are many and interesting differences in this respect between the constitutions of the Reformed and Lutheran Church of Hungary. While in the Reformed Church the assessors of the church courts in every degree are elected by the kirk-session, they are elected in the Lutheran Church by the meetings or assemblies of the various corporate bodies. Besides, the Lutheran Church makes room for pro-

fessors, schoolmasters and teachers in the church courts of every degree which is neglected almost entirely in the Reformed Church.

The church courts of the Hungarian Lutheran Church have three degrees: the courts of the *a)* seniorate; *b)* of the church district; *c)* the general church court.

The members of the *seniorate's court* are the senior and the seniorate's inspector as presidency and, at least, ten assessors. From among these there are four ministerial and four lay assessors and two schoolmasters or teachers. They are elected, together with the notary (minute clerk) of the court, for a period of six years by the seniorate's assembly. After the end of the third year one half of the assessors leave the court through drawing of lot but they can be reelected. The sittings of the court are held as a rule together with the meeting of the seniorate's assembly. The council of the court consists of a minister and a lay president, of a minister and a lay assessor, and a schoolmaster or teacher assessor, and lastly of a minute clerk, but he has not a right to vote.

The members of the *district court* are: the bishop, the district's inspector as presidency, then 12 assessors, 5 of them ministers, 5 laymen and 2 schoolmasters or teachers. They are elected for six years by the district's assembly. The sittings of the district court are held also as a rule together with the meetings of the district assembly. The council of the court consists of two (minister and lay) presidents, 2 minister and 2 lay assessors, a schoolmaster or teacher assessor and a minute clerk, who, however, has not the right to vote.

The members of the *General Court* are: the chief inspector, the bishop eldest in office as presidency, then 20 assessors, 8 of them ministers, 8 laymen and 4 professors, schoolmasters or teachers. They are elected for six years by the General Assembly in equal number from each church district. The sittings of the General Court, with the exception of urgent cases, are held at the time of the meeting of the General Assembly. Its council consists of 2 presidents, 3 minister and 3 lay assessors and a professor or teacher assessor and a minute clerk. In the council every church district must have its representative.

At the church courts during the proceedings there cannot be either more or less members than are fixed. The presidency must call for the assessors according to the „anciennitas" (order) of their election. The presidency has to nominate the referendaries at the proceedings. The resolutions (judgments) must be passed by a majority of votes; the members of the presidency vote also. The office of the public prosecutor at the seniorate's court in all disciplinary cases, then of the vocal proceedings of the district's and the General Court is taken by an attorney who is nominated in each case by the bishop, and who has to report to him and follow his instructions. If the juridical proceedings are ordered by the General Assembly or if the General Court acts as a court of first instance in disciplinary cases, the chief inspector has the right to nominate the public prosecutor. Petitions to the courts are accepted by the minister president of the seniorate's and district's court and by the lay president

of the General Court. The ordinary presidents of the church court do not take any special oath of office, but the assessors and minute clerks do before their respective Assembly.

The sphere of activity of the different courts. The courts at all the three degrees are entitled to proceed both with disciplinary and administrative cases as courts of first instance or as courts of appeal of second or third degree.

The following cases belong to the seniorate's court: the disciplinary cases of all church officials of the congregations and of the seniorate with the exception of the seniorate's inspector and the senior; then the disciplinary cases of all those district's officials and those officials of the General Church, schoolmasters or teachers, whose congregations belong to the respective seniorate, but with the exception of the district's and the chief inspector and also of the bishops. The administrative cases are: actions concerning the stipends, cases brought against congregations or church officials, complaints against any kind of elections. The seniorate's court may be also a delegated court in different cases, e. g., in actions brought against the presidency of other seniorates. The right to delegate is preserved for the district's court or for the General Court. The district's court acts as court of appeal in second degree in all cases which belonged in first degree to the seniorate's court. The General Court is a court of first and last instance in the disciplinary cases of the chief and district's inspectors and of the bishops. It acts as court of appeal in the third degree in all cases which were dealt with in second degree at the district's courts.

According to the laws of the Lutheran Church *offences against the Church* can be attributed to church officials only. Such offences committed by church members having no office in the church are not even mentioned in the laws. The more important offences of church officials may be as follows: to preach or proclaim doctrines contrary to the confessions of the church; the intentional violation of the church's laws and regulations; the abuse of official power; the refusal or negligence in official duties; disobedience and disrespect toward church authorities; a behaviour contrary to public morals and the dignity of one's office; any offences committed against civil laws; to be engaged in any profession unworthy of or incompatible with the standing of a minister, schoolmaster or teacher. The disciplinary punishments are: reproof, a fine up to 1000 crowns (200 dollars) to be paid for the benefit of the Central Fund, dismissal from office, and lastly final prohibition from any office in the church.

Administrative cases can be brought before the church courts by interested persons, but, on the other hand, the seniorate, the district and the General Assembly also may bring different cases before the courts. Such cases are, e. g.: actions concerning the payment of stipends, brought before the court either by the congregation or by the church official or by their legitimate heirs; disputed cases arising from the dividing of congregations or seniorates; appeals against elections, etc.

e) **Incomes and church taxation in the Hungarian Lutheran Church.**

The Hungarian Lutheran Church similarly to the Hungarian Reformed Church is sustained mainly by the free will offerings and church taxes of her members. The Church is not rich at all in landed properties and buildings, and church funds and endowments have almost lost their value owing to the financial upheaval of post-war times. To support the weaker congregations or those congregations which are engaged in a greater undertaking, the Lutheran Church following the example of the Reformed Church, in addition to the General Relief Fund already established some time ago, created a Central Fund and also a General Pension Fund, for the pensions of aged and infirm ministers and for the widows and orphans of ministers.

The laws of the Lutheran Church declare that the congregation, the seniorate, the church district and the General Church are in command of their properties and funds within the legally set up limits, but they are obliged, on the other hand, to cover within their limits their own expenses. The control of the financial affairs of a congregation or of the higher corporate bodies (seniorate, church district, General Church) takes place by the immediate higher authority. The budget of the General Church is supervised and approved by a specially formed committee of four members of the General Assembly which acts under the guidance of the General Church Audit office. Every church body is obliged to take a stock of its movable goods and real estates, stating the burdens upon them and supplementing it in every year. They are obliged also to make a yearly budget in which they have to state their yearly requirements and the incomes by which they are covered. The purchase of any church estate is allowed with the consent of the immediate higher church authority only. Every member of the Hungarian Lutheran Church who is of full age and is in the possession of his or her own income or wealth, has to contribute to the burdens of that congregation which is in the parish where he or she has permanent lodgings, respectively, and pays direct state taxes. It is not allowed to reduce the stipends or salaries of ministers, church officials or teachers without the consent of higher church authorities, even if the reduction is accepted by the party concerned.

The yearly budget of the *congregation* is drawn up by the kirk-session and is accepted by the general meeting of the congregation. The ordinary expenses of the congregation are covered, in addition to the free will offerings of the church members, by church taxation which is imposed according to the income and material circumstances of each church member. Every able-bodied church member who is over 24 years of age and has his or her own income or wealth has to pay the so-called „personal tax" which must never exceed 50 crowns (10 dollars). If the expenses of the congregation cannot be met out of these personal taxes, church members may be obliged to pay taxes according to the sum of their direct state taxes.

Those who have permanent lodgings within the civil parish, pay the church taxes after the whole sum of their direct state taxes; those who have not permanent lodgings within the parish, pay the church taxes only after the half sum of their direct state taxes; and, lastly, those who are the members of an outparish or diaspora, pay the church taxes after the quarter of their direct taxes. The church taxes, paid after the half of the direct taxes, must not exceed 200 crowns (40 dollars), and the church taxes, paid in an outparish or diaspora, must not exceed 100 crowns (20 dollars). Church members who live in a mixed marriage pay the church taxes after the sum of their own and not after the sum of their joint state taxes. Taxes payable in kind can be paid in cash also. It is the duty of the curator of the congregation to collect the different church taxes. The incomes of the congregation are in the charge of the curator or treasurer, but are never in the charge of the minister or the teacher. The accounts of the congregation are supervised, first of all by the kirk-session and only afterwards by the general meeting of the congregation. The congregation can borrow, purchase or sell immovables, erect new buildings or repair the old ones in a greater measure, if the resolution of the general meeting of the congregation relating to it is approved by the seniorate's assembly. In urgent cases this approval can be given by the presidency of the seniorate also, but the assembly must be informed subsequently.

The *seniorate* administers its own financial and material affairs according to the rules approved of by the district assembly. The seniorate first of all entrusts a committee of accounts with the management of these affairs. The funds and endowments are in the charge of one or more treasurers or auditors. The expenses of the seniorate, if they cannot be covered from some other incomes, are paid proportionately by the congregations of the seniorate, but the key of these payments must be approved beforehand by the congregations concerned.

The financial and material affairs of the *church districts* and the *General Church* are conducted by the Finance Committee and also by the Committee of Acccounts of the church district, and that of the General Church. The chairmen (minister and layman) of this Committee are elected by the district's or by the General Assembly, where treasurers and auditors are elected also for the management of the district's, and that of the General Church's financial affairs. The expenses of the district's, if their own funds and endowments are not sufficient, are covered by the seniorates and similarly the expenses of the General Church by the church districts. The key of these contributions to the expenses of the church districts and the General Church, in the case of any change, must be approved by the majority of all the congregations concerned. Any seniorate which considers the key of these contributions unjust, may appeal to the General Committee of Accounts.

The *Central Fund* of the Hungarian Lutheran Church was created as a memorial of the Act of Parliament of 1791, which

assured the freedom of religion for the Lutheran Church also and as a centenary commemoration of their first General Synod in the same year. The aims of the Central Fund are described in the laws as follows: to support such weak congregations as fulfil an important mission in the life of the General Church and the existence of which cannot be assured by the support of the seniorate and church district; to establish and to support new congregations or preaching stations, taking in their care the spiritual needs of those church members first of all who live far away from organised congregational life; to help and support all the humanitarian institutions of the church, and promote the religious education of the youth of the church; to give support to the General Pension Fund, aiding old and disabled ministers and the widows and orphans of ministers. The various sources of the incomes of the Central Fund are: the interests of the funds, donations, legacies, and the contributions of the congregations which is the half per cent. of the direct state taxes of the church members. Ministers, schoolmasters and teachers pay also their contributions to the Central Fund, but everybody may be exempted from the payment of contribution if he pays the twentyfold sum of this half per cent. Besides these payments, the capital of the Central Fund is continuously augmented by the twenty per cent of the yearly interests, and by donations and legacies given for that purpose. The Central Fund is administered according to the rules and regulations, established by the General Assembly. Those congregations which do not pay their contributions regularly, cannot obtain any help from the Central Fund. The laws in the meantime entrusted the General Assembly with the duty of regulating the collections which were already in use on behalf of poor congregations or different humanitarian institutions of the church.

The aim of the *General Relief Fund* of the Lutheran Church is to give help to congregations which cannot be supported sufficiently by the Central Fund. The revenues of the Fund are: besides the interest of its capital, free will offerings, donations and congregational collections on certain Sundays of the year. There is a Central Committee of the General Assembly which is responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the Relief Fund.

The *General Pension Fund* of the Lutheran Church similarly to the Relief Fund was created by a special law of the General Synod. According to this law the Pension Fund gives pension to old and disabled ministers, catechists, organists, college professors and after their death to their widows and orphans. To the funds and upkeep of the Pension Fund contributions are given by the General Church, the congregations and all those corporate bodies which maintain any church institution and lastly those who will obtain pensions from the Fund. The key of the contribution is regulated by the General Assembly. The Pension Fund was finally created on the lst. February, 1897. The capital both of the Central Fund which was estimated in the last year of the War, 1918, at the value of 502.588 crowns (100.518 dollars), and of the Pension Fund which again was

estimated at the same time at the value of 4,799.968 crowns (959.994 dollars), was almost completely swept away as a consequence of the debacle in our country in the year following the War, exactly in the same way as it happened in the Reformed Church. The leaders of the Lutheran Church are now busy in reorganising their ruined Pension Fund.

The *Transylvanian Saxon Church* (Evangelische Landeskirche Augsburger Bekentnisses in Siebenbürgen), lived its own separated life for centuries, and it refused the invitation to the last General Synod of the Hungarian Lutheran Church. This separation was the reason why in 1886. eleven Magyar speaking congregations of the Brassó district (Kronstadter Bezirk) left the Saxon Church and joined the Tibiscan district of the Hungarian Lutheran Church. The Transylvanian Saxon Church is at the present time under Roumanian rule: consequently we shall not deal with the various differences of church constitution between this Church („Landeskirchen Verfassung" and „Disciplinarordnung", both of 1870) and the Hungarian Lutheran Church.

f) The next tasks and problems for the Lutheran Church Legislation.

The *constitution* of the Hungarian Lutheran Church needs readjustment and supplementing in many respects. First of all, if the constitution of the Church is to be built up on the congregations, this principle may be more completely applied in all degrees of higher church bodies. It is not satisfactory, at least, if the congregations elect besides their own officials the presidents of the higher church bodies only. The congregations may have their votes at the elections of the assessors of church courts and the notaries (minute clerks) of the assemblies also, who are all important functionaries of the corporate life of the church. Further, it is against congregational principle that the professor and teacher members of the General Synod are not elected by the congregations, but by the staffs of the colleges and schools. In this respect one would expect the assertion of the pre-eminently Protestant principle that the schools belong completely to the Body of the Church, while in the Lutheran Church the schools appear as a separate body. Though it is good to pay special respect to the staffs of the colleges and the schools of the church it is a breaking through of the congregational principle too that at the elections of higher church officials these staffs act as separate congregations. Exception may also be taken in the Lutheran Church constitution that there is no connection whatever between the two highest authorities of the Church, viz. the General Assembly and the General Synod. Another objection may be taken that, particularly at lower degrees of church authorities, statutes are very often applied for in the management of various affairs. Though that may be an easy and convenient way, it nevertheless breaks up the essential unity of the General Church. It is a disputable fact, at any rate whether it is advisable at all to give the

right to statutes to a small congregation in which, besides the minister and the teacher of the church school, there is hardly any other educated man. Then it is a want in the Lutheran church laws that they do not regulate at all the election of ministers. At the casting of votes in the different degrees of assemblies (the seniorate's, the district's and the General Assembly) the double way of voting is rather a slow and difficult process, i. e. that the assembly votes sometimes by its individual members, at other times by the constituting congregations or other church bodies. In circumstances of equality the determination of a majority becomes a difficult process.

There is great need of supplement and addendum in *church legislation* also. One of the most remarkable shortcomings of Lutheran church legislation is that there is no provision whatever for the discipline of church members in the church jurisdiction which deals exclusively with the disciplinary cases of church officials. So much is this the case that the congregation itself has no jurisdictional rights and power whatever. Therefore what we have said already about the church discipline of the congregations in the Reformed Church can be said in a greater measure about the Lutheran Church. Then it is a peculiar arrangement that the district's court never can be a court of first instance. It would be easier and more natural to refer the cases of the presidency of the seniorate (inspector and senior) and those of the professors and schoolmasters of the colleges and schools maintained by the district to the district's court at first instance than to refer them somehow unnaturally to the seniorate's court. Or if to pass judgment over the disciplinary cases of the seniorate's presidency the court of another seniorate is delegated, why do they not act similarly at the church district, and why is the General Church Court competent in such cases? Then it is also peculiar that the public prosecutor is nominated in each case by the bishop, or rather by the chief inspector. That makes even more room for criticism from the point of view of modern jurisdiction which does not permit that the representative of the executive power shall have the right to sit in a court.

In the case of *church taxation* and the bearing of the church's burdens it is not only against evangelical principles, but it is almost antisocial that the maximum of personal taxes and obligatory contributions is fixed at such a low sum. It would be very desirable that heads of large families should have some reduction in the payment of church taxes.

3. The Unitarian Church.

With the Acts of Parliaments of the Transylvanian Diet in Torda, 1568, and in Marosvásárhely, 1571, and with the XX. Act of Parliament of 1848, the Hungarian Unitarian Church became both in Transylvania and in Hungary one of the established autonomous churches of the country. The constitution of this church is built very

much on the same lines as the constitution of the Transylvanian Hungarian Reformed Church and here are to be found some traces of the „Consistorial system", mainly in the Highest Church and Synod Council. Also the Representative Church Council which is the highest and chief authority of church administration resembles very closely the administrative council of the Transylvanian Reformed Church. The principle of „parity" between ministers and lay members can be found in the presidency of the various church governing bodies; otherwise in the assemblies and in the Synod the members in three quarters are laymen, which gives a preponderance to the lay elements in the administration of the Church. The re-election of the officials is partial only, but where it is in use, it happens as a rule in very short intervals.

a) **The constitution of the Unitarian Church.**

The constitution of the Hungarian Unitarian Church is built on the congregations also. The administrative power in the congregation is exercised by the so-called church committee (a kind of kirk-session) and the higher administrative bodies are the district (deanery) and the Central Committee.

Every *congregation* is autonomous, but is under the supervision of these two Committees. The congregation has two corporate bodies: the general meeting of the congregation and the kirk-session (presbyterium or church committee). The members of the *general meeting* are all who pay the church taxes or, in the congregations maintained otherwise than by church taxes, every male church member of full age. The members of the Unitarian Church are in many places in too small number to be sufficient to form a congregation. In such places they are either under the direct care of the next „mother"-congregation, or if they are sufficient in numbers for it, they are organized as „filiae" or „daughter"-congregations, in close connection always with a „mother"-congregation. The minister, the organist, the curator, the members of the presbyterium and the sacristan are elected by the general meeting of the congregation which is responsible first of all for the management of the material affairs of the congregation. It superintends the school of the congregation, if there is one; it has the right to vote at the elections of seniors (deans), curators and notaries of the districts; and in the assembly of the latter it is represented by the minister and the curator of the congregation.

The general meeting of the congregation forms by the means of election a *presbyterium* (church committee, domesticum consistorium) of 3—25 members. The duty of the presbyterium is to execute the resolutions of the general meeting of the congregation and to manage all kind of affairs of the congregation from the time of one general meeting to another. The minister, the teacher or the organist are members by office of the presbyterium; the other members are elected from among the suitable members of the congregation,

usually at the occasion of the canonica visitatio of the senior. The fellow-chairmen both of the general meeting and of the presbyterium are the minister and the curator. In larger congregations there are often two curators who are elected also at the visit of the senior. Both the general meeting and the presbyterium are convoked by the minister and the curator, but, if one of them is prevented from being present, either of them is entitled to be the chairman of the meeting alone. A third of the presbyters are re-elected every year; accordingly the whole presbyterium falls to be re-elected during a period of three years. The curator, besides the presbyters, is helped by the sacristan too.

The congregations are organized into districts (deaneries) which correspond to the seniorate of the Reformed or the Lutheran Church. The congregations of the Unitarian Church were before the War in 8 districts (deaneries). The smallest were the district of Felsőfejér, with 5 congregations and that of Kolozsdoboka with 7, and the largest the district of Székelyudvarhely with 18 and that of Székelykeresztúr with 30 congregations. The congregations of Kolozsvár and Budapest, though they belonged to the district of Kolozsdoboka, were under the direct supervision of the Unitarian bishop. After the war, however, the Unitarian congregation of Budapest and also the other Unitarian congregations of Hungary, in Polgárdi and Hódmezővásárhely were separated. These congregations constitute the small Unitarian Church of post-war Hungary under a bishop vicarage.

The *assembly of the district* is convoked, at least, once a yeor, but if necessary in more cases too. The members of the assembly are the ministers and the teachers of the district and the so-called church councillors elected by the chief council of the Synod. Its chairmen are the senior (dean) and the district's curator eldest in office. The assembly has the right to elect the senior (dean) of the district and all its other important officials as the notaries and the curators. The assembly has to decide in all disputes in any church affair; it superintends the schools and approves of the reports on the schools of the church; it has disciplinary rights also concerning the cases of church officials.

The central and highest authority of the Unitarian Church is the *Highest Council of the Synod and of the Church.* The difference between the two is only that the Highest Council of the Synod elects the bishop and the chief curator; otherwise the Highest Church Council is empowered with almost the same rights as the former. The meetings of the Synod's Council are opened with a communion service always. The Church Council is held as a rule once every year in Kolozsvár (sometimes more than once) and the Synod's Council in every four years and in different church districts.

The members of the Highest Church and Synod's Council are: the bishop, the chief curator, the chief notary (a minister), the director of administration, the seniors (when prevented in their duties the deputies are the district's notaries), the district's curators, the

treasurer, the lawyer, the auditors, the inspector of the properties, the Unitarian members of the staffs of church high schools and colleges, the treasurer of the General Pension Fund, the secretary of the bishop; 120 church councillors who are elected for life by the Chief Council and are in one quarter ministers, in three quarters laymen; the representatives of the districts, in equal number ministers and laymen, who are elected by the district's assembly for three years through secret ballot and according to the size of the district. The fellow-chairmen of the Highest Church and Synod Council are the bishop and the chief curator oldest in office. If the bishop is prevented in his official duties, his deputy is the chief notary (a minister), and the deputy of the chief curator is another chief curator who follows him in degree of precedence.

The Highest Church and Synod Council is the chief legislative and governing authority of the Unitarian Church. It deals with and approves of the yearly report of the bishop and the Representative Church Council; it decides in all affairs concerning the establishment or dissolution of the schools of the church and generally directs all school affairs. The Council elects the chief notary, the director of administration, the inspector of the schools, the dean of the theological college, the headmasters and professors and schoolmasters of the colleges and schools, the secretary of the bishop; it installs and takes the oath of office of the seniors; it supervises and approves of the yearly accounts of church and school funds and properties, and, lastly, it draws up the budget of the year.

Between the two meetings of the Highest Council the affairs of the Unitarian Church are conducted by the *Representative Church Council,* the members of which are the bishop, the chief curators, the chief notary, the inspector of schools, the dean of the theological college, the headmasters of the high schools, the bishop's secretary, the lawyer, the treasurer, the auditor, the director of the church estates, 27 church councillors, elected by the Council for a period of six years, amongst whom 9 must be resident in Kolozsvár (one third of these 27 members is re-elected every second year). The fellow-chairmen are the bishop and the chief curator oldest in office, but any of them may be chairman alone. The notary of the Representative Council is the chief notary and the referendary is the bishop's secretary. Its sphere of activity is: to carry into effect the resolutions of the Highest Council; to give approval to the sale or purchase of immovables; to act in all affairs concerning legacies or donations; to supervise the life and different activities of the congregations and of the schools of the church; to care for good order and discipline in the church. Lastly, the Representative Council is the responsible authority of the Unitarian Church in relation to the state and the government.

b) The chief church officials.

The officials of the Unitarian *Congregations* are the minister, the teacher and the curators; in the district the senior (dean) and

the district's curators; in the central organisation of the Church the bishop and the chief curators.

The congregations elect their *ministers.* The election takes place after a nomination carried out by the presbyterium, and then out of the three candidates who obtained the greatest number of votes, the bishop finally nominates the minister. If a congregation renounce its right to elect its minister, then the bishop directly nominates him. It may happen that a congregation, before the end of the third year, is anxious to dismiss its minister; in such a case also the new minister is nominated by the bishop. The same rules are in force concerning the teachers of the congregational schools. When a vacancy occurs in a congregation nobody is allowed to „offer himself by preaching", and only those can preach who have obtained permission beforehand from the senior. Assistants must not be either elected or nominated in those congregations where they are in office. The elected ministers are ordained at the next meeting of the Synod. The stipend of the minister is as a rule the double of the salary of the teacher. Neither congregations nor ministers nor teachers are entitled to propose or accept any decrease of the stipend or salary.

The duty of the *curator* is to manage the material affairs of the congregation, to keep in good order the various church buildings, to prepare a yearly account before the official visit of the senior (canonica visitatio), to collect the contributions of church members for the stipend and salary of the minister and the teacher.

The *senior* (dean) administers all the affairs of the district. His duty is to visit the congregations officially once every year in the company of the director of administration, the notary and one of the district's curators. They supervise at such canonicae visitationes all the spiritual, school and material affairs of the congregations. The senior gives orders for the election of the various church officials in the congregations and takes an oath of office from the elected officials.

The right and duty of the *bishop* is to visit at certain times the congregations. But he must visit in every three or four years those congregations which are exempted from the district and are directly under his personal supervision.

c) Church jurisdiction in the Unitarian Church.

There are four degrees of disciplinary church courts in the Unitarian Church.

The *disciplinary court of the congregation* consists of two ordinary and two deputy members under the chairmanship of the minister. The members are elected in every three years out of the members of the presbyterium. The *district's court* or the court of first instance consists of two ordinary and two deputy assessors (one layman and one minister in each case) under the chairmanship of the senior. The chairman of the *disciplinary court of second instance*

is the bishop and it has four ordinary and two deputy assessors; they are laymen and ministers, in equal number, elected for a period of three years. The court of the Highest Council is a *disciplinary court of third instance*. Its members (six ordinary and four deputy members, ministers and laymen in equal number) are re-elected every year and its chairman is one of the chief curators.

The competent court for the presidency of each of the church authorities is the court of the next higher degree, but the disciplinary cases of all the other church officials are dealt with in first instance by the disciplinary court of their respective authority.

4. The Minor Protestant Denominations.

Besides the three historical Protestant Churches, there are some minor Protestant Churches and sects also in Hungary. The number of their members and adherents has increased considerably within the last two or three decades. Among these the Baptists, the Methodists, the Adventists and Russelites started their religious propaganda exclusively with foreign help, while the sect of the Nazarenes, though of foreign origin also, is of more Hungarian colouring than the others. In Transylvania during the course of history there was a religious sect of pure Magyar origin, the sect of the Sabbatarians which was a kind of over-development of Unitarianism in Transylvania.

Among the above named minor Protestant churches and sects the *Nazarean sect* appeared first in our country. Two Hungarian artisans, John *Denkel* and John *Kropacsek* met in Zurich with the anabaptists of Samuel *Fröhlich*. They returned to Hungary in 1839 and a certain Lewis *Hencsey*, an artisan too, became the most zealous preacher of the new doctrine; at any rate, the Nazarenes regard him as the founder of the Hungarian Nazarene sect. The sect won followers mostly in the neighbourhood of Lake Balaton and also in Keszthely. They recruited a few members in Budapest also. Later on Hencsey went to Switzerland to meet there Fröhlich, while the Nazarean doctrine spread over many other places of Hungary. In South Hungary they formed a greater congregation in a small country town named Pacsér where their minister, Stephen *Kalmár*, was mentioned sometimes as the „bishop of the Nazarenes". They were famed during the War as „conscientious objectors" and refused to wear arms or to take an oath of allegiance to the Army.

Then came the *Baptists*. Their first missionaries arrived from Germany in the forties of last century. They won followers first mostly among the artisan class of the country. A certain Roman Catholic artisan from Hungary, named John *Rottmayer*, became member of a Baptist congregation in Hamburg. He returned to Pest in 1843 with a few others of his fellow countrymen who were meanwhile converted to the Baptist Church also. He started to preach the doctrines of the Baptist Church immediately, but the

first baptisms, six in number, happened after more than twenty years, in 1865 only. The founder of the first Hungarian Baptist congregation in Budapest was Henry *Mayer*. For a few years they have had a minister's training college also in Budapest.

Methodism was brought to Hungary from Vienna. Robert *Möller*, the preacher of a Viennese Methodist Congregation was invited to preach amongst the Germans of Bácska in South Hungary (now in Yugoslavia). When they applied for a permament teacher, Otto *Melle* was sent from Dresden. He settled down finally in Budapest where in 1906 they had three preachers already. In later years they were organised as the Episcopalian Methodist Church of Hungary and have a superintendent also.

The *Adventists* and *Russelites* have been known in Hungary for a few years only and their religious propaganda did not spread over wide circles. A few years ago the *Salvation Army* started their work in Hungary, but they do not form a church of their own, and their workers and followers remain members of their own churches and congregations.

The number of the members and adherents of the Baptist and Methodist Churches, so large and powerful in the United States of America, is comparatively very small in Hungary. According to the data of the Census of 1910, amongst the 18,264.533 inhabitants of pre-war Hungary there were 17.066 only who did not belong to any established or legally accepted church of the country including the Mohammedans too, who became a legally accepted church during the War only. Besides those few who did not belong to any church whatever, all the members of the above mentioned smaller Protestant Churches and sects were included in this number. Moreover, these churches lost, at least, half of their followers as a consequence of the territorial losses of Hungary through the Trianon Treaty. The Methodist Church, for instance, has organised congregational life, worthy of the name, at the present time in Budapest only. Besides the Methodists, the Baptists have the largest number of followers. According to their own statistics the number of their members and adherents was 23.000 in 1917, but after the dismemberment of Hungary this number was cut down to 7.000, though they had 9616 members in 1922, which is a considerable increase during such a short period.

The *relation* of these smaller churches *to the state* may be outlined in the following way. Originally the laws of the country accepted or rather established the churches which were called „receptae religiones". Such are all the historical churches. The expression *„recepta religio"* was used first as long ago as 1552 by the XII. Act of Parliament. The free religious worship of the Protestant Churches was assured first by the I. Act of Parliament in 1608, and by the V. Act of Parliament in 1645., the former being the codification of the Viennese (1606), the latter that of the Treaty of Linz. But their relation to the state was more precisely constituted by the XXVI. Act of Parliament in 1791. The Greek Orthodox Church

became „religio recepta" by the XXVII. Act of Parliament of the same year (in Transylvania in 1848 only), the Unitarian Church by the XX. Act of Parliament of 1848. The same Act of Parliament secured the principle of full equality and reciprocity between all the established churches of the country, which was in further details codified in the LIII. Act of Parliament in 1868. The XLII. Act of Parliament in 1895 declared the Jewish Church an established church also. Any other church henceforth can be declared to be an established church by an Act of Parliament.

Besides these established churches a church may be declared a *legally accepted church* also, according to the provisions of the XLIII. Act of Parliament of 1895. The provisions of this Act are as follows: those citizens who want to organise a new legally accepted church have to prove that they established and maintain, at least, one congregation; that they provide religious education for the children of their church; and, lastly, if they have presented to the Ministry of Religion all the rules of their church organisation. If these desiderata are proved, and the new church have no rules or any tendency hostile to the state and the nation, the Ministry of Religion must assent to the organisation of the new church, unless its doctrines or its religious services are against the laws of the country and the public morals; or unless it is identical with other already established or accepted churches or differs from them only by the language of the services and church administration; or unless the new church should use in its name the name of a foreign race or nation; or lastly, if the organisation of the new church is not injurious in any way to the already established or accepted religions. The accepted religion is under the protection of the state; it is a public body and is entitled to free religious worship; it administers autonomously its own religious and material affairs, its endowments and funds; it is entitled to receive donations and offerings from its members for the upkeep of the church. There are certain restrictions, however, in matters of immovable properties for such a church and it may purchase immovable properties only if they are used as church-buildings, schools or humanitarian institutions, cemeteries, or houses for its church officials. Lastly, the accepted churches are also permitted to use church discipline. Amongst the smaller Protestant churches it was the Baptist church only which applied for recognition as a legally accepted church. This was granted by the 99.205.— 1905. enactment of the Ministry of Religion.

Foreigners residing in Hungary who do not belong to any of the established or accepted churches of this country may worship according to the religious service of their own church, if it is not hostile to the laws of the country and to public morals; and if it is indicated beforehand to the police authorities. They must give also the names of their acting clergymen or priests to the respective civil authorities. With regard to the religious private services of ex-territorial persons the rules of international laws are valid.

II.

INTERCONFESSIONAL RELATIONS OF THE HUNGARIAN CHURCHES.

In this part we wish first of all to deal with the relations between the two historical Protestant Churches of Hungary, the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches, which fought together for their freedom and life, through the hardships and endless struggles of many centuries. Then we shall give some details of the regulations in the civil laws concerning conversion and the religion of children, born in mixed marriages.

1. The relation between the Reformed and Lutheran Churches.

Their common history, the struggles fought in common against Rome and the wounds received in common during the long feud of the Counter-reformation created a very close connection between the two sister churches of Hungarian Protestantism. Attempts at union also occurred quite often during the course of history, but they never led to any success.

When after two centuries of the most cruel oppression the Protestant Churches regained their freedom and autonomy in the XXVI. Act of Parliament of the Diet of 1790—91, and the holding of synods was permitted, the two Churches convoked their Synods simultaneously to Buda and to Pest at the end of the same year. The Codes of these two Synods were almost identical. The Synods tried to establish a Common Protestant Consistorium of the two Churches, but they did not succeed, for the Codes were not approved of by the King. Notwithstanding the Common Protestant Consistorium held regularly its meetings from 1797, until these meetings were prohibited by the Government in 1818. The desire for the union of the two Churches revived again strongly in the second quarter of the XIX. century. The *Concordate of Nagygeresd* was set up in 1833, between the Transdanubian Districts of the Reformed and the Lutheran Church, and this Concordate was accepted in later years by the entirety of both Churches. The Theological College, which was established in Pest after long preparations, was for many years a commonly used institution of the two Protestant Churches. The Lutherans did not fight, however, with the same tenacity against the patent as the Reformed Church did, and this circumstance was

not very favourable for the further rapprochement between the two Churches. But in 1891, when, on the occasion of the Synods, opened at one time in Budapest, both Churches celebrated together the Centenary of the Autonomy Act of Parliament of 1791, the possibility of union was seriously discussed again. The lay moderator of the Lutheran Synod Baron Desider de *Prónay* made a declaration on behalf of the union, but his declaration did not meet with the approval of the Synod's majority. Nevertheless the two Synods took the necessary steps towards the formation of a Common Protestant Committee. The Conventus of the Reformed and the General Assembly of the Lutheran Church were summoned to send members in equal numbers into the above named Committee, the duty of which was to discuss and defend with common effort the imperilled interests of the two Protestant Churches. Though this Committee had not the right to pass obligatory resolutions, its work was very useful in many cases.

The *Common Protestant Committee* has two moderators, one layman and one minister, and it was arranged in this way that one is elected from amongst the members of the one and the other from amongst the members of the other Church. This Committee prepared a Concordate which was somehow or other the renewal of the Concordate of Nagygeresd. The new concordate was made in 1900, and came into force July 1, 1901. The most important items of this concordate, leaving untouched any private agreement between the congregations or individual members of the two Churches, are as follows: a) If both Churches have ministers in the same town or community, they may mutually perform any service instead of the other on common agreement or if one of them is unable to do his duty. b) If there was a united congregation of the two Churches in the same parish, but they had not made a written contract about it, they were obliged to do so on the ground of the already existing conventions between them. It was made necessary that they should elect their ministers and teachers out of the members of the Church the members of which are in majority in the united congregation. The congregation is under the authority of that Church always to which its minister belongs. The minister of a united congregation, being the member of any of the two Churches, has to conduct the services according to the liturgy of his own Church. The church officials are to be elected proportionally in accordance with the number of the Churches. If the united congregation is separated into two congregations again, at the division of their movable and immovable properties the rules of the contract are obligatory, but the funds and donations shall remain in any case in the possession of that congregation, or Church to which the donor belonged. c) Besides union there may be a case of joining also, if in the same parish only one of the two Churches has a „mother"-congregation, but the other has one neither there nor within a radius of four miles. In such cases the denominational character of the joining members does not remain, but they have the right to avail themselves of the services of their

own minister and use the church building for that purpose. The joining members also have to pay the church taxes, but half of their payments must be given to their own competent congregation. d) Protestants must be regarded as diaspora in such places only where there is not organised congregational life of either of the two Churches. The members of a diaspora may avail themselves of the services of the ministers of both Churches. e) In the cases of mixed marriages between Reformed and Lutheran parties the ministers of either of the two Churches are entitled to hold the marriage ceremony. f) In the case of either union or joining the teacher of the common denominational school has to give religious education to the children of both denominations, but the confirmation has to be done by the ministers of the two Churches separately. g) In such schools and educational institutions where one of the Churches has already a catechist, he has to teach the pupils of the other denominaton until their religious education is cared for by their own Church.

The ever growing and strengthening progress of militant Roman Catholicism certainly will give new impulses in the future to a closer cooperation between the two Evangelical Churches.

2. The regulation of the interconfessional relations in Hungary.

Amongst the most important questions of the interconfessional relations there are mainly two which are to be regulated by civil laws: the question of conversion, and the religion of children born in mixed marriages. These two questions bring the greatest number of conflicts of interests between the various denominations; it is necessary therefore that these questions should be regulated by the impartiality of civil law.

a) The question of conversions.

True religious liberty means not only what is expressed in the words of the XLIII. Act of Parliament of 1895, according to which „everybody has the right to confess any religion and may be the member of any church he chooses", but it means as well that everybody may change church and confession and should be entitled to pass freely from the membership of one church to another. But the possibility of conversion is bound to a certain age-limit by the civil laws. This limit is the 18th. year in Hungary; the only exception being those young women who marry before that age, and become thus of full age through their marriage. It is prohibited to enroll anybody into the membership of any church or congregation under this age. Those who infringe this law are subject to a penalty of up to two months of imprisonment and a fine of up to 600 Pengős (120 dollars) according to the §. 53. of the XL. Act of Parliament of 1879.

There was a time in Hungary when conversion was permitted into the Roman Catholic Church only. The §. 13. of the often quoted

XXVI. Act of Parliament of 1791. permits Roman Catholics in the first place to leave their own church and join one of the Protestant churches. But even this law makes it rather difficult to leave the Roman Catholic Church and inflicts heavy penalties on everybody who tries to entice any Roman Catholic into a Protestant church. And while conversion to the Roman Catholic Church was almost entirely free the Consilium Locumtenentiale (the highest civil authority of the country at that time) made in reality nearly impossible any conversion to the Protestant churches. The III. Act of Parliament of 1844, permitted conversion between the Roman Catholic Church and the two Protestant Churches (Reformed and Lutheran) only. The VIII. Act of Parliament of 1868 permitted conversion between all the established religions (religiones acceptae) of the country, but everybody was obliged to be the member of one of the established churches. This last restriction was abolished by the XLIII. Act of Parliament of 1895, which does not coërce anymore the membership of an established or legally accepted church.

It is the interest of all the churches to increase their memberships and one has to regard as the decline of the missionary spirit that this point often seems to be forgotten in our Church. A few decades ago, especially before the introduction of the civil marriage, there were many who joined our Church only in order to dissolve a marriage which was contracted in the Roman Catholic Church where the marriage is regarded, as it is known, as a sacrament which never can be dissolved. They do not dissolve any marriage even now, but, somehow or other, they find a reason by which it may be proved that the marriage should be regarded as null and void in the minute of its contraction, and thus the marriage, in reality, was not contracted at all. That meant, of course, the lessening of conversion by reason of a second marriage, and nowadays such conversions occur only when the marrying parties are not satisfied with a civil marriage, but want the blessing of the Church too: and they cannot obtain that in the Roman Catholic Church.

In the question of conversions it is the duty of the state to control whether the conversions happen in all cases according to the regulations of the laws, lest any of the churches, omitting the necessary formalities, should recruit members by force and to the detriment of the other churches. This was effected partly by the above mentioned age-limit, and partly by a legal control of the act of conversion according to which it is compulsory for everybody who is desirous to leave a church to announce his or her intention to his or her former priest or minister. This regulation is very useful in putting a limit on the too enthusiastic proselytizing tendencies of certain churches.

The rules of conversion in Hungary were fixed by the LIII. Act of Parliament of 1868, which rules are still in practice and valid. The most important points in this conversion-law are as follows: only those are permitted to pass into another denomination who are over their 18th. year of age or those women who are married before their

18th. year. Those who want to leave their former church, choosing two witnesses, have to announce their intention before their competent priest or minister. After this first announcement, not sooner than 14 days, but before 30 days, they have to reappear again in the same way and declare to the priest or to the minister that they stand by their intention of leaving their former church. They have to ask the priest or the minister for a certificate of their two appearances, and if he refuses to give these certificates (as he does as a rule), then the witnesses sign a declaration which certifies the two appearances. This certificate or declaration must be shown to the priest or to the minister of the new church which they wish to join and then the priest or the minister is entitled to accept them as the members of his church. But the latter priest or minister has to send a notice about the fact of conversion to the former priest or minister of the converted person. If any of the parents join another church in the above described way, *all his or her children under the age of 7 will follow him or her to the new church;* on the other hand, neither the death of any of the parents, nor divorce causes any change in the religion of the children. However, any of these two cases show very often more or less serious transgressions of the law.

b) **The question of the religion of children born in mixed marriages.**

This is the second most important question in the interconfessional relations. The Roman Catholic Church was always very anxious to use for her advantage all mixed marriages where one of the parties happens to be Roman Catholic. Accordingly they put up serious restrictions. Originally they wanted a dispensation from the Pope himself which was granted to those only who solemnly abdicated their „heresy" and gave promise that all their children should be educated in the Roman Catholic faith. Later on, however, they were satisfied with the second proposition. At the end of the XVIII. century they did not ask any more for a direct dispensation from the Pope; it could be granted by the bishop. Sometimes they did not even ask for any promise about the religion of the children to be born. Rome gave many concessions in this respect to certain districts, oftentimes to whole countries. At the beginning of the XIX. century the Roman Catholic Church refused again even to pronounce in church the marriage of those who did not give a reversion (reversalis) about their children to be born on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church. In consequence of this policy of the Roman Catholic Church many states of Europe granted the right to their Protestant ministers to act at the ceremony of mixed marriages, the result being that the Holy See became less obstinate in this question. *Pius VIII.* in 1830, gave permission that in the diocese of the Archbishopric of Cologne the Roman Catholic priests might celebrate mixed marriages without reversion in the form of the so-called „assistentia passiva". In such cases the marriage was not pronounced in the church. The intention of marriage was simply recognized and note made of it

in the register of marriages, but always either outside the church or in the vestry. The same permission was granted to Bavaria in 1832 by *Gregory XVI.* and in 1841, to Austria and Hungary.

Before this time there were great and endless contests around mixed marriages, but they were permitted always only when the non-Roman Catholic party gave a reversion on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church. The King was mostly on the side of the Roman Catholic Church in this question. Thus e. g. the Carolina Resolutio declares that a mixed marriage can be contracted before a Roman Catholic priest only. *Maria Terézia* served the Roman Catholic interests similarly when in three consecutive orders in 1749, 1756 and especially in 1768, she commanded that mixed marriages were permissible only in the event of a reversion to the Roman Catholic Church. The Edict of Tolerance of *Joseph II.* in 1781, ordered that all reversions should be regarded as invalid and compulsorily prescribed that if the father is Roman Catholic all the children should be Roman Catholic, and if the father is Protestant his male children only. There are similar regulations in the XXVI. Act of Parliament of 1791, but *Leopold II.* in an order proclaims in the same year that reversions should be valid, if they are given voluntarily. The same order is given by *Francis I.* in 1807. But at the Diet of 1832—33 serious objections were raised that mixed marriages should be contracted before a Roman Catholic priest only. The Lower House accordingly promoted a bill in this subject, but it was defeated by the action of the Upper House. The Diet of 1839—40 urged again that these conditions, so injurious to the Protestants, should be abolished and the counties were seconding the action of the Diet. Joseph *Lonovics* the bishop of Csanád visited the Holy See and, after submitting his case repeatedly, *Gregory XVI.* in his breve, dated April 30, 1841, declared valid the order according to which mixed marriages should be regarded as valid, if they are contracted before a Protestant clergyman and two witnesses. The legal basis of the mixed marriages was established in the Hungarian civil laws in the III. Act of Parliament of 1844. The §. 2. of this Act declared that „those mixed marriages which were contracted before an Evangelical clergyman are to be regarded as valid".

The latest stage of develoment was reached in this question in the LIII. Act of Parliament of 1868. The §. 11, of this Act declares that „mixed marriages may be contracted before the clergymen of any denomination"; and the 9, and 10, paragraphs assure the rights of the marrying parties in the case, if either the announcement of the marriage in the church or the congregation, or the giving of a letter of dismission would be denied. While the XXVI. Act of Parliament of 1791, regulated the religion of such mixed marriages only which were contracted between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and that also in such an injurious way for the Protestants, the §. 12 of the above quoted Act gave orders about the religion of children born in all mixed marriages contracted between the members of any two established or accepted religions, and in a just way, i. e. that *every*

child should follow the religion of his or her parent according to his or her sex (sexus sequitur sexum). To avoid every abuse of the law it was very clearly stated that „any reversion or contract contrary to the orders of the law should be regarded henceforward as null and void". The XLVIII. Act of Parliament of 1868, abolishes the privilege of the Roman Catholic Sees according to which they had the right to pass judgments in divorce suits in the cases of all mixed (half R. C.) marriages also, and declares that the case of either parties should be judged according to the doctrines of his or her denomination. Lastly, the XXXI. Act of Parliament of 1894, abolished all jurisdictional privileges of the churches concerning marriages and they were transferred to the civil law courts. That was felt to be a considerable loss by the Roman Catholic Church and as a recompensation they urged the restitution of the reversions to which Desider *Szilágyi*, the Attorney General of those days, himself a member of the Reformed Church, who submitted the bill to Parliament, acceded in the name of liberality. Thus the §. 6, of XXXII. Act of Parliament of 1894, permitted again that marrying couples, belonging to different denominations, should be entitled to sign a reversion (reversalis) concerning the religion of their children to be born. But this reversion should be signed always before civil authorities and before the marriage.

Desiderius Szilágyi
leading liberal statesman.

With this the contest for the obtaining of children of mixed marriages, fought so fiercely for such a long time, was renewed again. The Roman Catholic Church tried at the end of the last century already to regain her losses with a slow, but thorough effort. The work of preparation for this attack went on for decades until at the beginning of this century they gained ground in a considerable measure. It became soon evident that the Roman Church did not find convenient any more the already granted concessions concerning mixed marriages. It was natural therefore that *Pius X.* in his *Ne Temere* Decretum, issued August 2, 1907, withdrew all the exceptions from the Formula Tridentina. To begin with the Hungarian high clergy held the view that the Ne Temere did not concern Hungary. But the Congregatio Concilii of the Holy See pronounced that these words of the Decretum „unless the Holy See gave orders to certain districts otherwise" may be referred to the *Provida* Constitutio only which was granted by *Pius X.* to Germany in 1906. When it became obvious that the Ne Temere concerns Hungary as

well, public opinion in Hungary, which regarded mixed marriages as the best guarantee for peace between the various denominations, stood up so strongly against the orders of the Ne Temere that the Holy See decided to extend the Provida to Hungary also in 1909.

The peace, however, did not last for a long time. A new Church Code, the *Codex Juris Canonici* was promulgated May 19, 1918. The §. 4, of this Code declares that „all rights, privileges and exemptions granted by the Holy See and practised presently, should be regarded as valid, unless the orders of the Codex do not arrange otherwise or expressis verbis do not abrogate them. Nevertheless some Hungarian Roman Catholic experts of the church laws maintain, so, e. g. in articles published by Roman Catholic church magazines, that with the promulgation of the new Codex all the exemptions granted by the Provida to our country are no more valid. But as the Holy See did not abrogate expressis verbis the exemption of the Provida for Hungary, they should be regarded as valid in spite of any contrary opinion. It is characteristic of the passion of the struggle, fought for the children of the mixed marriage on the side of the Roman Catholic Church, that they assert obstinately the abrogation of the Provida without any legal ground.

III.

THE POSITION OF THE PROTESTANT SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION IN HUNGARY.

The educational traditions of the Reformation did not perhaps influence the life of any other Evangelical church in a greater measure than they did the life of the Hungarian Protestant Churches.

a) A historical sketch and the relation of the Protestant schools to the State.

The century of Reformation meant in our country also the Renaissance of education. William *Fraknói,* a Hungarian Roman Catholic titular bishop, states in a book edited by him that there were 164 schools in Hungary in the XVI. century, and 121 out of these were maintained by the Reformed and Lutheran, 9 by the Unitarian and 34 by the Roman Catholic Church, altogether. Reformed and Lutheran colleges and high schools were established one after the other, some of them being destroyed during the struggles of the Counter-reformation, but most of them still in existence, like those in Sárospatak, Pápa, Debrecen, the famous College of Gyulafehérvár, Transylvania, which was transferred later on to Nagyenyed; then the colleges of the Lutherans in Eperjes, Sopron and Pozsony. The Roman Catholic Church became conscious soon how important the schools were and what a great force they meant to the Protestants. A long and fierce contest was started by the Roman Catholic Church to regain all their losses in the territory of schools and education also. The Jesuits, the foremost champions of every section of the Counter-reformation, began to take by force from the Protestants not their church buildings only, but their schools as well. A few years after the departure of John Amos *Comenius,* the world-renowned schoolmaster, from Sárospatak, in 1671, the Jesuits aimed cannons against the walls of the famous Reformed College, and they formally besieged it by a whole regiment. The students tried to defend for a time their besieged college, but later on they were forced to leave Sárospatak and hid themselves under the leadership of two professors with the most valuable books of the College. After ten years part of the students returned, but six years later, in 1687, they were expelled again for many years. The College of Pápa, was seized by the Jesuits in the middle part of the XVIII. century, and

the students found shelter in their exile for many decades in Komárom. The Government of Vienna was anxious to get hold of the College of Debrecen too about the same time, but all efforts were in vain because of the selfsacrificing enthusiasm of our people and the help of our foreign brethren, and the College fulfills its national vocation in the highest degree at this time. A better era arrived for our colleges and schools at the end of the XVIII. century when the XXVI. Act of Parliament of 1791 gave back the autonomy of our schools as well. In the middle of the XIX. century, during the time of the so-called absolutism (1849—1867), the Austrian Government made once more serious efforts to kill our national culture and force the German Kultur on us by suppressing the Protestant colleges and

Reformed College of Sárospatak.

schools. The so-called Organisations Entwurf, which was prepared for the secondary schools of the Austrian hereditary provinces, was made compulsory in Hungary too. All the efforts of the Austrian Government, however, broke down with the strong resistance of the Protestants.

The Hungarian legislation, immediately after the year of the Ausgleich in 1867, constitutes our fundamental law of education (the XXXVIII. Act of Parliament of 1868), which assures again in the fullest measure all fundamental rights of our Church to the autonomy of the Protestant schools. There were no state schools whatever until 1868, and all the educational laws created since mention the State as a school maintaining authority at the last instance. But the old spirit was weakened when the struggles died away and the time of full religious freedom arrived. Many of our congregations

became too eager to hand over their schools to the State. They thought that the difficult times had passed away for ever. One could hear more and more the dangerous catch word: *„secularise the schools"*. It was a peculiarly dangerous symptom in Transylvania where in districts, densely populated by non-Magyar nationalities, our denominational schools, so invaluable properties of our Church for many centuries, were handed over to the State one after the other. In many places it was done only in order to render greater or smaller services to the town or to the political community which had, perhaps, some obligations to our schools. They handed over to the State training colleges for teachers also, and so our church schools had to employ teachers who, being educated in a state institution, were

Reformed College of Pápa.

very different from the old type of teacher, and from the so-called „rectores academici", young candidates who after finishing their ordinary curriculum in the theological colleges went for two or three years to teach in the schools of the church. The greatest event of this secularisation of our educational institutions happened when Debrecen handed over its ancient College with three faculties (Theology, Laws and Arts) to the State in order to establish a University, but maintained by the State, in their town.

During the last fifty years in the life of our remaining schools there was but outward development and not inward strengthening. Our education policy remained, like the spires of the great Gothic cathedrals, unfinished during this time. Though in the very last years, many people were convinced that a great cultural mission

awaits for the Evangelical churches, and one of the most welcome signs of this new policy is that the schools of the church are not handed over anymore to the State so readily as before. Our school-maintaining congregations see now more clearly the dangers of a threatening advance of the militant Roman Church in the domain of culture, arrived at, first of all, through and in their own denominational schools. What is done by the Calvinists of Holland, founding new denominational schools and educational institutions one after the other, one can observe in our Church also here and there. So, e. g. the Transtibiscan district organised a Reformed Training College for Schoolmasters only a few years ago, by the side of the Debrecen University, and the Cistibiscan district is making efforts

Reformed College of Debrecen.

now for years to recover from the State its former Teachers'Training College in Sárospatak.

The established Churches, amongst them naturally the Protestant Churches, are dealt with by the State in a special way concerning their schools. They have a complete freedom in regard to the material and method of teaching, the choosing of the text books within the legal limits of the XXXVIII. Act of Parliament of 1868, which is the fundamental law of elementary education. The same privileges are granted to the secondary schools of the churches as well, according to the orders of the XXX. Act of Parliament of 1883, which is a similar fundamental law of the secondary school education. Moreover the churches are granted the privilege to choose freely the language of their secondary schools, if, in the case of a

non-Magyar language, they announce previously their intention to the Ministry of Education.

The school autonomy of the Protestant Churches was regulated by the §. 5, of the XXVI. Act of Parliament of 1791, as follows: „the Churches are entitled not only to maintain their already existing elementary and grammar schools, but to organise new ones as well; they may establish new high schools or colleges also, if they won a royal approval thereto previously; they may elect or dismiss freely the staff, the inspectors or curators of these schools and they can regulate the way and manners of teaching and learning, only the right of Suprema Inspectio of the State must be regarded as intact for these schools also, which will be exercised by the State through their competent governmental bodies. The method of public instruction will be regulated by the Diet, obligatorily to the denominational schools as well, excepting the religious education which will be completely under the disposal of the respective denominations. Students are allowed to receive gifts and donations, to help their benefactors in church services and to receive scholarships and bursaries of foreign colleges with the purpose of studying abroad". Since then, different state laws have defined more completely the Jus Supremae Inspectionis of the State, i. e. the XXXVIII. Act of Parliament of 1868 and the XXVII. Act of Parliament of 1907 concerning the elementary and the XXX. Act of Parliament of 1883 concerning the secondary schools. There are no further orders concerning the college- and university education and consequently the law is still valid according to which any Protestant denomination may establish a college or university with a previous approval of the Sovereign.

Our denominational education is still stronger than that of other denominations, e. g. that of the Roman Catholic Church. The smallest number of illiterates is first amongst the Lutheran, then amongst the Reformed population of the country. There used to be a yearly competition for the pupils of all secondary schools of the country during the last five years and in this competition the first place was secured by the Budapest Secondary School of the Lutheran Church, which school obtained 51 points as the result of all the five competitions while the best state secondary school, following immediately the Lutheran school, obtained 47 points only. The number of Protestant students is considerably higher than it proportionally should be according to the data of statistics. The same thing can be said of our representation in the world of science, literature and arts. It is an often occurring circumstance that if an important position in public life has to be filled, the choice falls on a Protestant. Thus we can say that though numerically we are a minority, Protestantism in Hungary in the spiritual, but in some respects in the material wealth also of the country, represents the best and most valuable element. The small holders, e. g. who are a very important stratum of society in an agricultural country like Hungary, are in a majority Protestants.

b) Statistical data about the Protestant Schools of Hungary.

The Protestant Churches of Hungary have the following number of schools in the various degrees.

1. *Elementary schools:* The *Reformed* Church in dismembered Hungary maintains 1171 elementary schools with 2374 ordinary teachers. The *Lutheran* Church has about 700 elementary schools with 725 teachers, and the *Unitarians* have in Hungary 2 schools only with 2 teachers. In these schools, in contrast with state schools, religious education and the teaching of church hymns is an every day work and lesson as a rule. It is an interesting custom in the Reformed congregations that the pupils — boys and girls — of the higher class go in groups to the morning prayer meeting which precedes the beginning of the school hours where they have a good practice in the singing of Psalms and Hymns.

2. *Secondary schools:* a) Secondary schools *for boys:* The *Reformed* Church has 19 secondary schools in present-day Hungary, partly the so-called „Humanist Gymnasia" where the classics are taught profusely and partly the so-called „Real Gymnasia" where Latin is taught, but a modern language, English, French, or Italian take the place of the teaching of the Greek language; this new type was introduced only a few years ago. These schools are in the following places: Budapest, Békés, Csurgó, Debrecen, Gyönk (with 4 classes only; ordinary secondary schools in Hungary have 8 classes), Hajdúböszörmény, Hajdúnánás, Hódmezővásárhely, Karcag, Kecskemét, Kiskunhalas, Kisujszállás, Kunszentmiklós, Mezőtúr, Miskolc, Nagykörös, Pápa, Sárospatak. The latest was established only a few years ago in Szeghalom through the generous endowments of a rich Reformed farmer, Andrew *Péter*. Out of the above enumerated schools those in Budapest, Debrecen, Hódmezővásárhely, Nagykörös, Pápa and Sárospatak are Humanist, all the others Real Gymnasia. The *Lutheran* Church has 7 secondary schools for boys in the following places: Budapest, Aszód, Békéscsaba, Bonyhád, Nyiregyháza, Sopron, Szarvas. Out of these schools Budapest and Szarvas are Humanist. The *Unitarian* Church in Hungary has no secondary schools.

Reformed secondary Boys school of Debrecen.

b) *Secondary Schools for Girls:* The last Reform of Education in Hungary created two new types of secondary schools

Reformed College of Kecskemét.

for girls besides the already existing gymnasia for girls, i. e. lyceums and colleges. In the first the classics are compulsory, in the second a modern language, English or French, is taught in the place of the Greak language, and in the last type no classics are taught at all. The *Reformed* Church has three secondary schools for girls in Hungary, in Budapest, Miskolc and Debrecen. The Budapest school will be transformed into a lyceum. The *Lutheran* Church has also 3 grils' secondary schools, in Kőszeg, Nyiregyháza, and the Veres Pálné Ladies College. The last one was organised more or less in the same way as the newly created ladies' colleges. It has three classes and a continuation course, and all these four classes may be entered only after the four lower classes of any secondary school. The college teaches first of all modern languages and gives a kind of general education, besides some suitable practical education for young ladies.

c) *City Schools for Boys and Girls:* These have four classes and are

Lutheran secondary Boys school of Budapest.

taken by those pupils who do not want a higher secondary school education or want to take afterwards some kind of technical or commercial schools. The *Reformed* Church in dismembered Hungary has 3 city schools for boys and 10 for girls. For boys in Dunavecse, Makó and Szentendre; for girls in Budapest the school of the Scottish Mission, Berettyóújfalu, Debrecen, Dunavecse, Hajdúböszörmény, Kiskunhalas, Nyíregyháza, Pápa, Siklós, Szentendre. The *Lutheran* Church has two city schools for girls, in Aszód and in Budapest. They have no city schools for boys.

Lutheran secondary Boys school of Békéscsaba.

d) *Boarding schools connected with secondary schools.* Boarding schools fulfilled a real social mission in the past of our church education. They made it possible for many able, but poor young men to obtain secondary and college education receiving in the meantime no material and financial help from home whatever. The „scholares pauperes" of the old Reformed colleges were of legendary fame. They were free boarders and for that they had to render some services in the rooms or at the meals or had to be correpetitores of their fellows less able in their studies. The „sovereign's loaf" of Prince Gabriel *Bethlen* was especially famous. In later years this excellent work of the old colleges decreased considerably. Though the undesirable consequences of this decay in the old spirit became very manifest, there is a tendency again that these boarding schools should be strengthened and, where they were abolished, organised again afresh. There are such boarding schools connected with secondary schools or colleges in the *Reformed* Church at the following places: Csurgó, Debrecen, Hajdúböszörmény, (called „Kálvineum": a boarding school

Lutheran secondary Girls school and internate of Kőszeg.

for Reformed ministers' orphans), Kiskunhalas, Kunszentmiklós (under extension at the present time), Mezőtúr, Pápa, Sárospatak. In Nagykőrös the congregation which maintains the school soon will be in the right of possession of a large legacy left for this purpose. Beside the full boarders there is a *convictus* (a dining room, maintained by the school where meals are served, mostly for the less wealthy schoolboys and students) in Kecskemét, Nagykőrös, Pápa and Sárospatak. Almost all the girls' schools are connected with a Hostel: in Budapest there is the Baár-Madas School; there are boarders in the Scottish Mission's School; in Debrecen is the Dóczy College, in Nyiregyháza the „Kálvineum for girls", (orphans of Reformed ministers) and lastly there are boarding schools for girls in Miskolc, Pápa, Siklós and Szentendre. The *Lutheran* Church has boarding schools or convictuses in Békéscsaba, Bonyhád, Budapest, Sopron and Szarvas, also for girls in Aszód, Kőszeg and in the Budapest Veres Pálné College.

3. *Training Colleges for Teachers:* These colleges recently have five classes, and the four lower classes of any secondary school or city school is necessary to enter a college. The *Reformed* Church has 5 such colleges, 2 for men, 3 for ladies. The former are in Debrecen and Nagykőrös, the latter in Debrecen, Kecskemét and Pápa. All the five are connected with boarding schools. The *Lutheran* Church has two training colleges for men, in Miskolc and in Sopron, and one for ladies in Szarvas.

4. *Academies of Law.* Juridical education was almost exclusively in the hands of the Protestant Academies of Law for centuries. In the Reformed Church especially the Academy of Sárospatak became famous; besides there were academies in Debrecen, Kecskemét, Máramarossziget; the academies of Pápa and Komárom were

Girls school of the Scottish Mission of Budapest.

Lutheran Girls school of Aszód.

abolished for a long time already. The Lutherans had a flourishing academy of law in Eperjes. Law was taught in olden times in connection with the secondary schools also, thus, e. g. in five colleges of Transylvania out of the seven. The gymnasium usually lasted for six years; then followed two years of arts and philosophy; two other years of law and theology came only afterwards. The number of these academies of law has very much decreased. The *Reformed* Church has now only one, in Kecskemét, which was united out of three. The *Lutherans* have one academy also which is now in Miskolc.

5. *The Reformed Training College for Schoolmasters* is at Debrecen in connection with the Faculty of Arts of the University for Reformed students who want to be trained as school-masters.

6. *Training Colleges for Ministers.* The *Reformed* Church in dismembered Hungary has three theological colleges, in Budapest (formerly in Kecskemét), Pápa and Sárospatak. The fourth college was embodied in the University of Debrecen as the Faculty of Theology. Besides that, the Transtibiscan District supports an extra training college for the students of the University's Faculty, the latter being a state institution. This college has two professors. The fifth theological college is in Kolozsvár, in Transylvania. Of these the Budapest, Sárospatak, Debrecen and Kolozsvár Colleges are boarding colleges: there is a convictus only in Pápa. The theological curriculum consists of four years. The average of the weekly classes is about 30. Specialization in single branches of theology, after the German pattern, has resulted in this high number. Every student must pass oral examinations (colloquia) in all classes twice in a year (semester method). Besides the students have to pass at the end of the second year a preliminary examination (Old and New Testament Literature, General Church History,

Lutheran Girls school at Budapest.

History and Philosophy of Religions, Paedagogics) and at the end of the fourth year (absolutorim) the first examination qualifying for the ministry. The subjects of this examination are: Old and New Testament Exegesis and Theology, Dogmatics, Christian Ethics, and the students have also to write a thesis for this examination. After this examination the candidate is empowered to administer the Sacraments of the Church, and they have to spend two years as assistants out of which one may be spent in studies at a foreign college or university. At the end of the second year comes the second examination which finally qualifies for the ministry. The subjects of the latter are Practical Theology, Church Laws, the History of Hungarian Protestantism and a test out of the practical exposition of the Bible. A thesis must also be written for this examination. If the candidate pass this examination with success, he will receive his diploma for the ministry.

Students' convictus at Sárospatak.

It is a reassuring fact that in the last years so many students have been anxious to enter the theological colleges, that in certain colleges, as e. g. in Budapest, a considerable selection was possible

Reformed Training College for Lady teachers at Pápa.

Lutheran teachers training-college of Sopron.

amongst those who applied for admission. Another interesting phenomenon in our theological colleges is the considerable number of women students. Ten years ago the first woman student was enrolled in the Budapest College; she is now the catechist of the Baár-Madas Ladies' Gymnasium. One motive for the admission of women into the ministry was that during the War schoolboys of higher classes were already enrolled as soldiers; consequently the number of divinity students alarmingly decreased, a fact which was quickly felt in the form of a considerable scarcity of young ministers. Besides, as catechists the women were able to do often more valuable work, especially among younger boys and girls, than men. The General Conventus regulated generally the admission and examinations of the women students of theology in 1923. Accordingly the women students have to finish the four years course in the same way as men students do, but out of the two final examinations they may pass the first only. They cannot administer sacraments nor may they preach as ministers. But they may be employed as catechists, then for home missionary and church charity works. In the Budapest College there are this year 10 women students out of exactly 100. There used to be a few women students in the other colleges too.

Another interesting phenomenon in our divinity colleges is the institution of the so-called *legatio*. Because the celebration of the great Christian festivals takes place in two days always in Hungary (in Transylvania even in 3 days), and besides the morning and the evening services there are usually in connection with the morning services the communion services as well, divinity students used to go to the congregations and as legati help the minister in his accumulated work. The congregations give sometimes a fixed fee to the legati for their services, othertimes they collect a sum as a present for them

Reformed College of law at Kecskemét.

which oftentimes means a great help to the poorer students.

It is a very old and good custom of our students that after finishing their theological studies, and sometimes also in between, they used to spend one or two years with further studies of theology at the colleges and universities of our sister churches abroad. Our foreign brethren have given for centuries scholarships to our students, having either endowments for that purpose or collecting the necessary sums from year to year. Especially Scotland and the Netherlands are visited by our students in greater number, but lately we have had students in Geneva, Basel, Zurich, Montpellier, Paris, Strasburg, Berlin, Halle, Belfast, Cambridge, and Dayton, Lancaster, Pittsburg, Princeton in the United States of America.

Reformed Theological College of Budapest.

The *Lutheran* Church had in the immediate past a general theological college in Pozsony; besides, the Transdanubian District maintained a college in Sopron and the Tibiscan District another in Eperjes. When Pozsony and Eperjes were separated from Hungary, the College of Eperjes moved temporarily to Budapest. When the University of Pozsony, expelled by the Czechs, was transferred by the Hungarian Government to Pécs, a Lutheran Faculty of Theology was organised, embodied in the University of Pécs, but with a residence in Sopron. At this occasion both the Budapest, formerly Eperjes, and the Sopron Colleges were abolished. Thus at the present time there is only this Faculty of Theology in Sopron for the training of Lutheran ministers. Here the Lutheran Church established a boarding college for the students. The leaders of the Lutheran Church are planning to establish a Theological Seminary in Budapest for practical training of candidates who have finished their university course.

The full course of the Lutheran theological college is eight semesters. To the validity of a semester, at least, 20 classes are

compulsory. At the end of the fourth semester there is a preparatory examination, the subjects of which are: Theological Encyclopaedia; Old and New Testament Introduction, General Church History, History of religions, Paedagogics. Then follows a final examination, both written and oral. The subjects of the former are taken from the Biblical Sciences and Systematic Theology. The subjects of the latter are: Old and New Testament Exegesis and Theology, Systematic Theology, History of Hungarian Protestantism, Church Laws, Practical Theology. The General Church may send one or more representatives both to the preliminary and the final examinations. The candidate who has passed the final examination successfully is entitled to apply to the Examination Committee of his own competent Church District in order that he may be admitted to the examination finally qualifying for ministry, the subjects of which are all practical. When the proposed Seminary will be organised, two semesters must be spent there also. The theological students of the Lutheran Church visit in great number foreign theological colleges and universities, mostly in Germany.

The *Unitarian Church* has its theological college in Kolozsvár, Transylvania, now outside Hungary, consequently the few remaining congregations of the Hungarian Unitarians may receive their ministers only from Transylvania. Their theological course lasts also four years while or in the years after their theological course they have to spend a year for practice in a congregation. Most of their students used to receive scholarships in England or in the U. S. A. The Unitarian theological students also have to pass a preliminary and a final examination.

All these colleges have large *libraries*, and of these, especially famous and rich are the libraries in Sárospatak and Debrecen, and the Ráday Library in Budapest.

c) **The administration of the Protestant Schools.**

In the *Reformed Church* the authorities of all *elementary and city schools* maintained by the congregations are: in first instance the kirk-session or rather the school committee of the kirk-session; in second instance the seniorate; then the church district; and lastly, the highest and general authority is the General Conventus. The kirk-session (with the exception of the smallest congregations where the kirk-sessions are formed out of the smallest number of members prescribed by the church laws) forms a *school committee* in every three years. The seniorate's assembly divides all the schools into school circles and elects usually two inspectors — ministers and distinguished teachers — for each circle. The inspectors must visit the schools of their circles, at least, once a year. They report about their visit to the chairman of the seniorate's school committee who prepares his annual report to the assembly on the ground of the inspectors' reports. The senior similarly has to visit all schools at the occasion of his canonica visitatio. All the school affairs of the seniorate are

dealt with at the school committee of the seniorate. A similar committee is acting in the church districts also.

The *secondary schools* are administered on the one hand by the boards of administration and the authorities of maintenance; on the other hand by the higher church authorities, the church districts and the General Conventus. The board of administration which is the immediate higher authority of the school's staff usually has 9 to 18 members. They are elected by the authority of maintenance in two third parts ministers and laymen with secondary school education and one third are the representatives of the staff, i. e., the headmaster and other elected members of the staff. The most important business of the board of administration is to supervise all activities of the school. The authority of maintenance has the right to elect the ordinary members of the staff for life. All the affairs of the secondary schools and colleges are dealt with by the church district in the educational committee.

The authorities of the *teacher's training colleges* are similarly the board of administration, the authority of maintenance, the church district and the General Conventus. The members of the board of administration are from 6 to 9 and a third must be in like manner the representatives of the staff. The members of the staff are elected here also by the authorities of maintenance.

The authorities of the *theological colleges* are the church districts and the General Conventus. The methods and ways of supervision, after hearing the opinion of the respective staffs, are especially fixed by the church districts according to local circumstances. The ordinary and extraordinary professors are elected by the representatives of the staff. The members of the staff are elected (privat docens) are employed by the board of administration.

The *General Conventus* is the highest authority of all the Protestant schools. It supervises all their spiritual and material affairs and directs the harmonious development of the entire education. The General Conventus forms a General Committee of Education partly out of its own members, partly of experts in education. The educational institutions of the Church can be inspected by delegated experts at the order of the Conventus. Its duty is to supervise the religious education of young people who are the pupils of state- or other public schools. It watches similarly whether the school funds and endowments are administered and their income spent in the proper way.

The schools of the *Lutheran Church* are administered and supervised by their own assemblies and school authorities and committees formed according to their own church autonomy. The organisation, sphere of activity and business of the school committees are constituted by the General Assembly, though the general regulations may be modified according to local circumstances and with the approval of the General Assembly. The supervision of the elementary schools is the right of the seniorate; the church district is the immediate higher authority of the secondary schools, and lastly, the

colleges are under the immediate inspection of the General Assembly. Any of the church authorities are entitled to establish a new school with the approval of their higher authorities. Church authorities of different kinds may support a school in common also. The members of the staffs are elected, as a rule, by the authorities of maintenance. The religious education of Lutheran pupils in state- and any other non-Lutheran schools must be cared for by the different church authorities, if necessary at the expense of the parents. Those teachers who got their diploma in a non-Lutheran training college — just as in the Reformed Church — have to pass a supplementary examination which qualifies them for the teaching of religion and church hymns.

d) Our tasks and problems in church education.

First of all, *we must hold firmly by our church schools* which are, according to an old phrase of the Reformation-time, „the kitchen garden" of our Church. We can't hand over any more of them to the State; rather must we get them back and establish new ones, if possible. It is a very disquieting fact that a great number of our schoolboys and girls are the pupils of state- and communal schools or schools of other denominations. This is the consequence, undoubtedly, of the secularisation of so great a number of our schools, but, on the other hand, of the indifference and indolence of the parents also. Further, it ought to be mentioned that our schools are frequented in high number by pupils of other denominations; indeed, there are schools where other pupils than Reformed are in a majority. We must pay special attention to the religious education of those pupils of ours who go to non-Reformed schools. It would be desirable that their religious education should be cared for by ordinary ministers; and this may be reached, if we can organise many new congregations out of the too large congregations both of Budapest and many country towns.

Another urgent and important task is before us, in the organisation of *more secondary schools for girls.* This type of schools is neglected somehow or other by our Church, though the pioneers of education for girls can be found in great number amongst the members of our Church. The Synod of Szatmár, as long ago as in 1646, proclaimed that there was no difference between the two sexes in the matter of salvation, therefore it was necessary to educate them in the same way as young men were educated. Our Church opened elementary schools for girls long ago, but did not care enough for their higher education. In this respect we were preceded by the Roman Catholics who are indeed almost more anxious to give higher education to their young women than to the young men. This is the more surprising as the first scholarly study on the higher education of women was written and published by Andrew *Fáy,* a member of our Church, in the first part of the last century. His word was heard first of all by Countess Therese *Brunswick,* the well-known pioneer of Kindergarten schools. Another countess, Blanka *Teleki,* received

a concession for the establishment of a ladies' college, but it did not exist for a long time. Then Mrs. Paul *Veres* — she was Protestant also — worked enthusiastically for the cause of the higher education of women in the seventies of the last century, and as a consequence of her agitation there was founded a college which still bears her name: the Veres Pálné Ladies College, which is now in the hands of the Lutheran Church.

We may introduce in greater number *schools of modern types.* We have not got e. g. any modern school (Realschule), or commercial schools. But it is more important that we should ourselves train our teachers, both men and women. Every church district must have therefore its own training college for teachers. We hope that Sárospatak will get back soon its old college from the State. That must be followed by the establishment of a training college for ladies in the Cistibiscan and another for men in the Transdanubian District. Nor may we neglect the organisation of a training college for teachers of the city schools. The Roman Catholic Church, e. g. has more such colleges for ladies while the State has only one, the Elizabeth College in Budapest. It is most desirable that we should follow the example of the Roman Catholics, though it may happen that the training of these teachers will be reorganised by the State in connection with one of the Universities, as the Ministry of Public Instruction plans that already. Then the training college for schoolmasters in Debrecen, which we have mentioned already, cannot be regarded as sufficient. We must organise similar institutions in the other university towns, but especially in Budapest.

Luther Home for students, Budapest.

The importance of *boarding institutions* in connection with our secondary schools and colleges must be felt also. It is an urgent necessity felt first of all by the ministers and teachers of the village congregations who are unable to give higher education to their children out of their very modest incomes unless they are helped by such institutions, which must be organised not only for the schoolboys of secondary schools, but for the Protestant students, both men and women, of the Universities also. Until now only the Budapest and Debrecen Colleges gave boarding to Reformed university and college students. The Lutheran Church has also a similar institution in Budapest, the Luther Home. The Christian Student Movement

furnished a large home for students with the help of the American brethren a few years ago, and the Bethlen Gábor Federation has started just now a collection in order to found a Bethlen Home. But all these are few for the many hundreds of Protestant university and college students of Budapest. And besides there are the two other university towns, Szeged and Pécs. The Protestant Churches must establish there also homes for their students. Then there are the women students for whom we have a smaller boarding college only, the Lorántffy College. It can give lodging to 30 women students only, and so some other such colleges ought to be established as soon as possible.

Important tasks and problems await for the Protestant Churches in the *training of candidates for the ministry.* First of all we must stress the fact that a theological college cannot function without a home (boarding-house) for the students; common meals (convictus) only are not enough. Then we must facilitate materially in every way the finishing of the four years course, for our students are recruited in great majority from classes which cannot be said to be well to do, and if they should have material worries they are not able to be absorbed in their studies and live exclusively for their vocation. The ideal state of things would be, of course, if all the students, even those who live with their parents in the same town, would live and have board together in the college where they would form with their Inspector a kind of congregation. This was done in certain aspects already in Sárospatak and Budapest. Then the students may take part during the terms of studies in the church-home missionary and charity work of the local or neighbouring congregations, and during the summer holidays do the same work at home in their own congregations. We should try to induce the congregations that they should cover the costs of college education for theological students coming from amongst their members. But at any rate there ought to be an intimate relation between the congregations and their theological students. There may be brought some simplification in the curriculum of studies in order that the students should have more free time for seminary work under the tuition of their professors. So far as local circumstances allow, the students may take part in the work of religious education also. It is necessary again that the students should have some interests in the social work of a local congregation or should do themselves such work alone. The traditional fine old institution, the „legatio" must be developed also, and the students may visit the congregations not only on the occasion of the great festivals, but in other parts of the year also to create a close connection with ministers and congregations. Then it was a useful renewal of an old institution when the General Conventus took orders that smaller congregations which are not able to pay both minister and teacher may employ a rector academicus, i. e. a young minister who, after his college course, spends some years with preaching and teaching together before being called into a greater congregation. It is necessary that as many of

our students as possible should spend one or two years in studies abroad. If in the past, in spite of the more difficult ways of travelling, there was hardly any minister who in his younger years did not live abroad for a longer or shorter time, we must do the same. In later years the General Conventus took over by a special committee the directing of just distribution of foreign scholarships and bursaries between the various theological colleges which proved to be a useful arrangement. Besides our students must make every effort to learn as much as possible the modern languages (English, French and German).

A very important problem in our Church is how to distribute in a just way the *burdens of maintaining schools and educational institutions.* The inequality is great, for some congregations are almost over-burdened and others which handed over their schools to the State have scarcely any burdens at all.

IV.

THE MORE IMPORTANT STATISTICAL DATA OF THE HUNGARIAN PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

At the end of the XVI. century Hungary was almost entirely Protestant.*) Though during the long wars of the XVII. century, under the leadership of *Bocskay, Bethlen,* George *Rákóczy* and *Thököly,* the Protestants fought almost without any pause for their endangered religion and national freedom and these wars caused heavy losses in their ranks, yet the Memorandum of the Utrecht Council of the Protestant Powers, held in 1713, which was handed over by the Bishop of Bristol in Vienna to Count *Zinzendorf,* mentioned five times more Protestants than Roman Catholics in Hungary and an even greater number in Transylvania.**) At the end of the XVIII. century this majority of the Protestants was completely destroyed. The Habsburg policy had done its best to destroy everything and everybody which were Protestant and Magyar. In a book, published by *Hormayer,* the director of the Vienna State Archives, in 1836, (Taschenbuch für Vaterländische Geschichte) we may read on pages 285 and 286, of the XXV. volume the minutes of a secret conference, held in the reign of *Ferdinand II.,* September 22, 1622. „We must infict injustice after injustice upon Hungary" — as we read in the minutes — „and thus induce her to revolt; then we must attack them with our mercenary troops, take away their liberty from them, nay destroy every Magyar up to an age of 12 and then people the so cleared territory with foreign inhabitants". Though this method was faithfully followed their programme was only partially fulfilled during the XVII. century. But they used to extend the method of colonisation with foreign inhabitants during the XVIII. century, to break down for ever the majority of the Hungarian population. After the Turkish

*) The papal nuncio had to report to Rome about the end of the XVIth. century, that in the whole country only about 300 Roman Catholic priests were left, not more than could be found in any town of Italy, and that only three out of all the aristocratic families remained faithful to the Church of Rome.

**) Quoted by Aladár *Ballagi,* according to the original in the Secret State Archives at Berlin, in his „Charles XII. and the way of the Swedes through Hungary", page 123.

wars they colonized mostly with Roman Catholic Germans in the devastated areas, such as the great plain between the Danube and the Tisza District, South Hungary, and a part of the Dunántúl, the old Roman Pannonia. This was followed by a great decrease in the number of Protestants.

Before the War according to the data of the general census of 1910, amongst the whole population of 18,264.533 there were 9,010.305 (51%) Roman Catholics, 2,603.381 Reformed, 1,306.384 Lutherans, 74.275 Unitarians and 17.066 belonging to the smaller Protestant Churches and sects. The whole of the Protestant inhabitants was 4,001.106.

The 2,603.381 „souls" — members and adherents — of the *Reformed Church* were distributed over 1997 „mother" and 76 missionary congregations, a total of 2073. There were moreover 94 united, 282 „daughter"-congregations, (filiae); 333 preaching stations (outparishes) and 4408 diasporas. There were 2354 church buildings, 58 meeting places; the number of ordinary and missionary ministers was 2060; there was 48 substitute ministers (so-called administrators), 32 minister teachers, 358 assistants and 121 organists (not counting those who were teachers in the meantime). There were 5 theological colleges, with 60 professors and lecturers, 213 students. We had in Debrecen an Arts College with 9 professors and lecturers and 27 students (now the Faculty of Arts in the University of Debrecen); 4 Colleges of law with 36 professors and lecturers and 308 students; 3 teachers' training colleges for men with 41 members of the staffs and 355 pupils, and 4 colleges for ladies (the fifth in Kecskemét was opened in 1918) with 60 members of the staffs and 519 pupils; one training school for infant school mistresses; 28 secondary schools (gymnasia) with 578 schoolmasters and 9215 pupils; 4 highschools for girls with 67 schoolmasters and 772 pupils; 4 city schools for girls with 17 teachers and 428 pupils (some others were opened lately during the War). There was a small industrial school for women in Marosvásárhely, Transylvania, with 9 pupils and lastly a charity school in Kolozsvár, Transylvania, with 69 pupils. The whole number of pupils was 11.915,—4124 out of these not being Reformed. A total of 1986 were staying in boarding schools and 2962 were taking the common meals (convictus). The various grants and subsidies given to 2012 pupils made a sum of 105.566 K. 48 f. (21.113 dollars) and the sum of various scholarships (for 1307) was 93.888 K. 21 f. (18.777 dollars). There were elementary schools in 1665 congregations with 2866 ordinary teachers, and the number of pupils in the day schools was 194.041 and 52.303, in the continuation schools. Besides the pupils of the Reformed Church there were 16.171 pupils belonging to other denominations.

According to the data of the census of 1910, the *Lutheran* Church had 1,306.384 members and adherents in 685 congregations in which — excepting the assistants and catechists — there were 709 ministers. The Church had 3 theological colleges with 31 professors and lecturers and 148 students; one college of law with

Reformed Theological College of Kolozsvár (now in Roumania).

15 members of the staff and 359 students; 14 secondary schools (gymnasia) with 310 schoolmasters and 5457 pupils; 6 training colleges for teachers and lady teachers with 60 members of the staffs and 323 pupils (in 1912), 4 secondary schools for girls with 64 schoolmasters and 486 pupils; 8 city schools for girls with 53 teachers and 961 pupils and one for boys with 9 teachers and 208 pupils, and lastly (in 1912) 1254 elementary schools with 1582 teachers and with 122.128 pupils in the daily and 70.698 in the continuation schools.

In the *Unitarian Church* there were in 1910, 74.275 members and adherents living in 120 „mother"- (in 1899 the same were 111 only) and in 60 „daughter"-congregations and many diasporas. The number of ministers was about equal to that of the congregations. Before the War the Unitarian Church had 50 elementary schools with about 50 or 60 teachers and two secondary schools in Kolozsvár and Székelykeresztúr, both in Transylvania. They had a theological college also in Kolozsvár with 6—7 professors. In Budapest and in many country towns Unitarian pupils went to the state schools or to different Protestant schools and their religious education was cared for by the Church as much as possible.

After the debâcle following the War and in consequence of the dismemberment of our country Hungarian Protestantism was reduced almost to its former half; i. e. in the wrenched off territories, given to the Roumanians, Yugoslavs, Italians, Austrians and Czechs, according to the statistical data of the same census of 1910, there lived 989.268 Reformed, 837.123 Lutheran, 69.198 Unitarian, 9010 Baptist, Methodist, etc., that is to say 1,904.599 Protestant church members and adherents. Nearly at the same time when the Treaty of Trianon was signed in 1920, a general census was held. This census amongst the 7,980.143 inhabitants of the dis-

Reformed secondary Boys school of Kolozsvár (now in R.)

membered country found 1,670.144 Reformed (21%), 497.012 Lutheran (6·2%) and 6224 Unitarian (0·01%) church members and adherents, and besides 10.487 Baptists and other Protestants. This gives a total of 2,183.867 as the members and adherents of all the Protestant Churches. This means also that the proportional number of the Protestants has risen from 20 up to 27·4 per cent of the whole population.

Reformed secondary Boys school of Marosvásárhely (now in R.)

The *Reformed Church* of present-day Hungary, which according to the census of 1920 had 1,670.144 members and adherents, had 1012 „mother"-congregations. On January 1, 1927, there were 1134 organised ministerial posts out of which 1026 were actually filled with ordinary ministers; besides, there were 36 catechists and 32 ministers, employed in various institutions, and organists; 40 posts were in vacancy. During the 1925—26 school year in the 3 theological colleges and one training college for ministers there were 22 chairs for ordinary professors and 287 students. In the academy of law there were 8 chairs, but only 6 acting professors and 540 students enrolled. In the 18 gymnasia there were 376 schoolmasters and 7443 pupils, 4611 out of which were Reformed; in the 3 ladies' gymnasia there were 70 schoolmasters and 1342 pupils, 780 out of which were Reformed. In the 2 teachers' training colleges for men and 3 colleges for women there were 76 members of the staffs and 607 pupils out of which 545 were Reformed. In the 12 city schools, both for boys and girls, there were 118 teachers and 2245 pupils out of which 1179 were Reformed. The number of elementary schools with one teacher was 593, with 2 teachers 260, with 3 teachers 103, with 4 teachers 59, with 5 teachers 22, with 6 teachers 11 and with more teachers 123. Altogether in these schools were 2374 ordinary teachers and 97.068 pupils in the day-schools, and 35.427 in the continuation-schools.

Reformed College of Nagyenyed (now in R.)

The number of members and adherents of the *Lutheran Church* was

497.012 in 248 „mother" congregations at the time of the census of 1920. The number of ministers is 262, excepting the catechists and assistants. At the Sopron Faculty of Theology — maintained by the State — there were 7 professors and 76 students. In the Miskolc academy of law the number of professors is 12 and that of the students 300. The 3 teacher's training colleges had 25 members of staff and 264 pupils; the 7 secondary schools for boys had 139 schoolmasters and 2769 pupils, the 2 secondary schools for girls and the Budapest Veres Pálné Ladies' College had 47 schoolmasters and 596 pupils. In the 2 city schools for girls there were 16 teachers and 355 pupils. In the Lutheran elementary schools there were 725 teachers employed who were teaching 37.836 pupils.

Reformed secondary Boys school of Sepsiszentgyörgy (now in R.)

The *Unitarians* in dismembered Hungary have only 4 „mother-", 1 united-, and 7 „daughter"-congregations and diasporas, with altogether 6 ministers. Their membership was 6224 in 1920. They have in Hungary two denominational elementary schools only.

As the consequence of the dismemberment of our country with the Treaty of Trianon the *Reformed Church* lost two fifths of her members. In the *broken off territories* the members of the Reformed Church formed the following *church districts:* in *Czechoslovakia* out of the congregations which belonged formerly to the Transdanubian district was organised the Cisdanubian district, out of the congregations which belonged formerly to the Cistibiscan district was organised the Cistibiscan church district of Slovensko, and out of the congregations which belonged formerly to the Transtibiscan district was formed the Church district of Russinsko. In *Roumania* out to the congregations which belonged formerly to the Transtibiscan district was formed, after a long struggle, the Királyhágó district of the Hungarian

Reformed secondary Boys school of Székelyudvarhely (now in R.)

Reformed secondary Boys school of Szászváros (now in R.)

Reformed Church in Roumania. The Transylvanian District was wrenched off from the Mother Church as a whole; it remained under the same name and annexed to it were the five Hungarian Reformed congregations of old Roumania. In *Yugoslavia* the congregations, broken off from three church districts of the mother church, from the Danubian, Transdanubian and the Transtibiscan districts, were organised into the Chief Seniorate of the Reformed Church of the S. H. S. Kingdom. We have lost only one congregation in West Hungary which was broken off to *Austria;* this was the congregation of Felsőőr (Oberwarte). It had to join the Austrian Lutheran Church and is under the Evangelische Oberkirchenrat now.

The number of members and adherents of the newly organised Hungarian Reformed Churches in the Succession States is as follows: in Slovakia 76,600 from the Transdanubian, 93,773 from the Cistibiscan and 60,009 from the Transtibiscan District, i. e. a total of 230,382; in Roumania 226,390 from the Transtibiscan and 462,426 from the Transylvanian district, i. e. a total of 688,816; in Yugoslavia 49,057 from the Danubian, 5748 from the Transdanubian and 12,401 from the Transtibiscan district, i. e. a total of 67,206; in Austria 2,864 from the Transdanubian district. The *whole number* of the *lost members and adherents of the Hungarian Reformed Church* thus gives a total of *989,268 souls*. The losses of the single church districts are as follows: the Danubian 49,057, the Transdanubian 85,212, the Cistibiscan 93,773, the Transtibiscan 298,800 members and adherents, and the Transylvanian district was lost for the mother church as a whole.

The Reformed Church lost also the theological college in Kolozsvár and the academy of law in Máramarossziget; all the seven famous old colleges of Transylvania, in Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Nagyenyed, Sepsi-

Reformed secondary Boys school of Zilah (now in R.)

Reformed secondary Boys school of Máramarossziget (now in R.)

szentgyörgy, Szászváros, Székelyudvarhely and Zilah; the teachers' training college in Nagyenyed; the lady teachers' training colleges in Nagyvárad and Szatmárnémeti; the secondary schools for boys in Máramarossziget, Szatmárnémeti and in Rimaszombat (this was maintained together with the Lutherans); the ladies' high school in Nagyvárad and Szatmárnémeti; the girls' city school and industrial school in Marosvásárhely; the charity school in Kolozsvár. All these schools are now in Roumania, except the secondary school for boys in Rimaszombat, now in Slovakia. These wrenched off schools and educational institutions, beside the several hundreds of elementary schools, were and are severely dealt with by the new rulers, especially by the Roumanians. One by one they are compelled to close their doors, because the most elementary conditions for existence are denied them. Their landed properties are taken away without compensation and, on the other hand, „the right of public character" is taken away from them on various pretences.

Reformed secondary Boys school of Szatmárnémeti (now in R.)

Reformed secondary Girls school of Nagyvárad (now in R.)

The *Lutheran Church* lost *almost two thirds* of her former members and adherents. The overwhelming majority of the Tibiscan and Cisdanubian districts were broken off to Slovakia. The Bánya district had 470,333 „souls" in 1913, now 244,109; the Transdanubian in 1913, 238,032 and now 172,000; the Cisdanubian in 1913, 210,838 and now altogether 33,369. The greatest loss was suffered by the Tibiscan district which had in 1913, — 420,940 members and adherents, and now has 31,004 altogether. These were organised in two church districts in *Slovakia*, the Western and the Eastern Districts; in *Roumania* the Saxon Church was reorganised on consistorial basis, while the Hungarian Lutheran Church kept to the former Synod-Presbyterian System; in *Yugoslavia* the Slovak and German speaking Lutherans formed a church district and in *Austria* was organised the Church district of Burgenland. The Lutheran Church lost also the theological colleges in Eperjes

Reformed ladies' high school of Szatmárnémeti (now in R.)

United Protestant secondary Boys school of Rimaszombat (now in Czechoslovakia.)

and Pozsony (both in Slovakia) and the academy of law in Eperjes; 3 teachers' training colleges (in Eperjes, Felsőlövő and Selmecbánya), 9 secondary schools for boys (in Eperjes, Felsőlövő, Igló, Késmárk, Pozsony, Rozsnyó, Selmecbánya and the united Protestant school of Rimaszombat; Besztercebánya with four classes), a secondary school for girls, 6 city schools for girls (in Eperjes, Igló, Kassa, Késmárk, Modor and Rozsnyó) and one for boys (in Sajógőmör) and also the greater half of her elementary schools. Moreover, the Saxon Church with her wonderfully furnished secondary schools was lost entirely.

The *Unitarinn Church* is now almost entirely under Roumanian Rule. In Transylvania there are her theological college (in Kolozsvár), her two gymnasia (in Kolozsvár and Székelykeresztúr) and, with the exception of 2, all her elementary schools.

Out of the nearly *two millions* of lost Hungarian Protestants approximately *one and a half million* are living under Roumanian rule. Their situation is anything but satisfactory. They are not allowed e. g. to have any connection with their former mother church; though we have institutions established together with them, like the Central and the Pension Funds, every connection was cut away ruthlessly. Indeed, our church magazines, newly published books, cannot reach them or with the greatest difficulty. Great difficulties arise oftentimes in these broken-off territories when vacancies occur in certain congregations; there can be no sufficient supply of young ministers, for the government of the new state does not allow young men to enrol in a Hungarian theological college. The most serious is the case of the Yugoslavian Hungarian Reformed Church which is too small to maintain a theological college by itself, and the Yugoslav government usually refuses to let young men come into Hungarian theological colleges. Up till now only three students have obtained permission. The Hungarian Reformed Church of Slovakia established recently a new training college for ministers in Losonc.

V.

CHURCH LIFE IN THE HUNGARIAN PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

In the Evangelical Churches of Hungary unmistakable signs of a spiritual awakening have been visible during the last years. First the effects of the War, the horrors of the short but bloody Bolshevik regime in 1919, and lately the more and more aggressive nature of Clericalism resulted in a most welcome deepening of the evangelical spirit. Clericalism shows an increasingly aggressive attitude towards the Protestant Churches instead of being grateful to Protestantism which led in ultima analysis to the spiritual renewal of the Roman Church in the XVI. century as well; for it is a fact of history after all that the Renaissance of the Roman Church was achieved by the Concilium Tridentinum which again was convoked under the influence of the triumphantly progressive Reformation movement. After the dark times, following the debâcle after the War and the Bolshevist Revolution, they were anxious to cooperate with the Protestants, building up a united Christian front against the destructive forces of atheism and the revolutionary spirit. Hardly had one or two years passed away, however, before the same Protestants were once more dealt with as enemies. But we must be grateful to the extremely militant leaders of the Roman Church for this attitude, because there must be some truth in the saying of Emeric *Révész*, a great spiritual leader of our Church in the last century: the Hungarian Calvinist is something like a drum, and gives sound only when he is beaten. The International Federation for the Defence of Protestantism in its meeting held at Dresden, September, 1926, ascertained that the world wide revival of the militant spirit of Roman Catholicism had deep effects and had moved the self-consciousness of Protestantism also.

A sure sign of this awakening is the *increasing sale of the Bible.* The British and Foreign Bible Society sold in 1920, 4315 complete Bibles, 5385 New Testaments, 4446 separate biblical parts. These data show the following variations during the next six years:

in 1921:	6603	complete	Bibles,	7732	New.	Test.,	2353	Bibl.	parts
in 1922:	10404	„	„	10076	„	„	4552	„	„
in 1923:	3665	„	„	7960	„	„	978	„	„
in 1924:	5321	„	„	8421	„	„	1779	„	„
in 1925:	8397	„	„	13460	„	„	3606	„	„
in 1926:	12926	„	„	23855	„	„	7693	„	„

The figures of last year reached almost those of 1918, which was the last year of the old Hungary, when the Bible Society sold 12,582 complete Bibles, 34,975 New Testaments and 11,442 biblical parts though the numbers of Protestants was then almost twice as much in Hungary as it is now. It ought to be added that the Bible Society of Scotland which employs 5 colporteurs in Hungary has increasing sales and in 1926—27 distributed in one form or other over 10,000 Bibles, New Testaments and biblical parts.

Lutheran College of Eperjes (now in Cz.)

A revival of church life is demonstrated in the constantly increasing number of *church-goers*. This is a common experience both in the Reformed and the Lutheran Church, especially in the town congregations and first of all in Budapest where the number of church-goers almost doubled during the last years. The Lutherans of Budapest estimate the number of those members who regularly frequent the churches as about 25 per cent, of the whole membership of the single congregations. But this percentage is considerably higher in the so-called diaspora congregations (those under organisation) where it goes up to 70—80 per cent, and there are places where Protestant services are often frequented by the members of other denominations also.

Dormitory of Lutheran Theological College of Eperjes (now in Cz.)

Though the material wealth of our church members, owing to the extremely difficult financial and economical circumstances of our country in the post-war times, suffered heavy losses, the *zeal for the cause of the church* rose rather than declined. New churches and meeting places are erected one after the other, especially in the suburbs of Budapest. The

enthusiasm with which these small congregations work for the cause, is sometimes moving. The members of the Wekerletelep congregation, mostly labouring men, took up themselves all the earth work of their projected church-building under the leadership of their minister. The members of the Budafok congregation followed immediately the noble example. In Budapest itself there were organised four missionary congregations within a few years. One of them has already built its congregational meeting place, and two are very near to realisation of their plans. In Örkény (a village in the Great Plain approximately 20—25 miles south of Budapest), a zealous landlord, Stephen *Horváth de Pálócz* gave all the costs of a new church building and cut down his daily meals until the church was ready. Similarly moving is the zeal and steadiness with which our congregations are getting new bells, for they were nearly without exception requisitioned for military purposes during the War. The same process is going on with the requisitioned pipes of the church organs.

Lutheran Theological College of Pozsony (now in Cz.)

In describing the outward apearance of church life we shall deal first with the various church services, then we shall give a short account of our home-missionary work and our charitable institutions and lastly we shall tell something about our church press.

1. Congregational Life.

a) Church services on Sundays and Festivals.

In the *Reformed Church* there are services in the morning and in the afternoon. The liturgical order of these services is as follows: In the morning service: singing, first with a standing, then with a sitting congregation; short invocation; prayer before the sermon (the congregations are always standing during the prayers); then a short singing, but not everywhere; the reading of the text; the sermon; then a short singing in certain places; prayer; the Lord's Prayer; appeal for collection; blessing; intimations; final singing. In the afternoon: singing similarly as in the morning, invocation, first prayer, short singing in certain places, the reading of the text, a sermon in festivals, and a homily either on a biblical subject or on a subject taken from the Heidelberg Catechism, Lord's Prayer, collection, blessing,

intimation of marriages, final singing. This is the order of liturgy, recommended by the General Conventus which published a few months ago a complete Agenda (Common Prayer Book) under the editorshop of Bishop L. *Ravasz.*

Lutheran secondary Boys school of Pozsony (now in Cz.)

The Hungarian Reformed congregations are very fond of singing. The New Church Hymnary was drawn up by the last Synod. It took up many beautiful old tunes of the Transylvanian Church Hymnary. The first half of our Church Hymnary comprises the 150 Psalms to which very few other Protestant churches are attached more faithfully than our Church. The second half is, strictly speaking, the Church Hymnary into which for the first time are now admitted hymns for the children. The use of organs was not very sympathetic ally accepted for a long time, and though now the majority of our congregations have introduced instrumental worship, there are still many places which sing the old tunes without any musical instrument whatever. We have, or rather had some German congregations before the greatest part of them were wrenched off: they are now nearly all in Yugoslavia, and these congregations are singing still their own old Hymns brought from their German homes some two centuries ago. Then there was a single Croatian-speaking Reformed congregation, and the General Conventus provided for them an extra Church Hymnary in their own vernacular. People belonging to other congregations or our foreign brethren too are surprised often with the order so strictly observed in which the whole congregation, women and men, sit in separated blocks of pews, and leave the church during the final singing. Sometimes they observe the same order in the village street, going back to their homes. It is a curious fact

Unitarian College of Kolozsvár (now in Roumania.)

that many of our congregations would not hear of the lighting of their church, and thus the afternoon services, especially in winter, had to be held in the early hours of the afternoon. They resisted less the heating of the church buildings.

The commonly used order of the church services in the *Lutheran* congregations is as follows: the singing of the congregation, service before the altar (invocation, prayer, Bible reading) singing, service in the pulpit (apostolic greeting, sermon, prayer, the Lord's Prayer, blessing), singing, service before the altar again (prayer, the blessing of Aaron), the final singing of the congregation.

The old Luther liturgy was given up almost entirely in the Hungarian Lutheran congregations, partly under the influence of the Reformed Church and partly as the consequence of rational tendencies in the Lutheran theology. Only the Slovak speaking congregations retained something of the old liturgy, and certain German speaking congregations also, but in an even less degree. Lately, however, a movement started amongst the Lutheran ministers in favour of the liturgical service. They were introduced at certain occasions in the Deák Square church of the Budapest congregation. The General Church, influenced by this movement, formed a General Liturgical Committee. The Committee set about its work very diligently and decided at one of its last meetings to draw up three types of liturgical services, all on the basis of Luther's liturgy, and one of these three must be accepted by the congregations, at their free choice. The congregations may have ten years in order that they should be able to introduce finally the new Liturgy. The Liturgical Committee moved in the meantime that a new Agenda, and Church Hymnary should be compiled also which are very much wanted by the congregations. In the Luthe-

Reformed Church on Calvin Square, Budapest.

Reformed Central-church, Debrecen.

ran Church there is not i. e. a commonly accepted Church Hymnary. The Hungarian speaking congregations use mostly the Hymn-book of the Transdanubian district, the German congregations use either the Hymn-book of the Tolna-Baranya seniorate or Hymn books imported from Germany, especially from Saxony; the Slovaks use the *Tranoscius'* Church Hymnary.

The order of services in the *Unitarian Church* is as follows: Singing, prayer with the Lord's Prayer, singing, the reading of the text twice, sermon, the Lord's Prayer, a short prayer, intimation, final singing. On Good Friday there is no sermon, but the organist sings the so-called Passio from the pulpit, followed by the prayer of the Minister. In the Church Hymnary of the Unitarians there are hymns, most by Hungarian authors, then selected Psalms in the rendering of the Reformed translator of the Psalms, Albert *Molnár de Szencz*. At first the Unitarians were also against the use of organs, but now almost all their congregations are using them.

b) **Church Services in Week Days.**

Services in week days are in use mostly in the Reformed Church; the Unitarians use them also oftentimes, but the custom is much less known in the Lutheran congregations. In Reformed congregations there are sometimes evening services, or rather prayer meetings, in week days also. There were village congregations not long ago which

The only Croatian Reformed Church, Tordince.

held morning prayer meeting during the summer early in the morning at 4 or 5 o' clock in order that the labourers should go to church before starting with their work in the fields. They left their scythes or other tools outside, leaning against the church walls, and going with their minister into the church they went out to their hard work only afterwards; for harvesting and other agricultural work usually begins for the Hungarian peasants at the time of dawn and lasts late after sunset. The morning prayer meetings of our congregations are specially well frequented during the weeks preceding communion. These weeks are called commonly „penitential weeks".

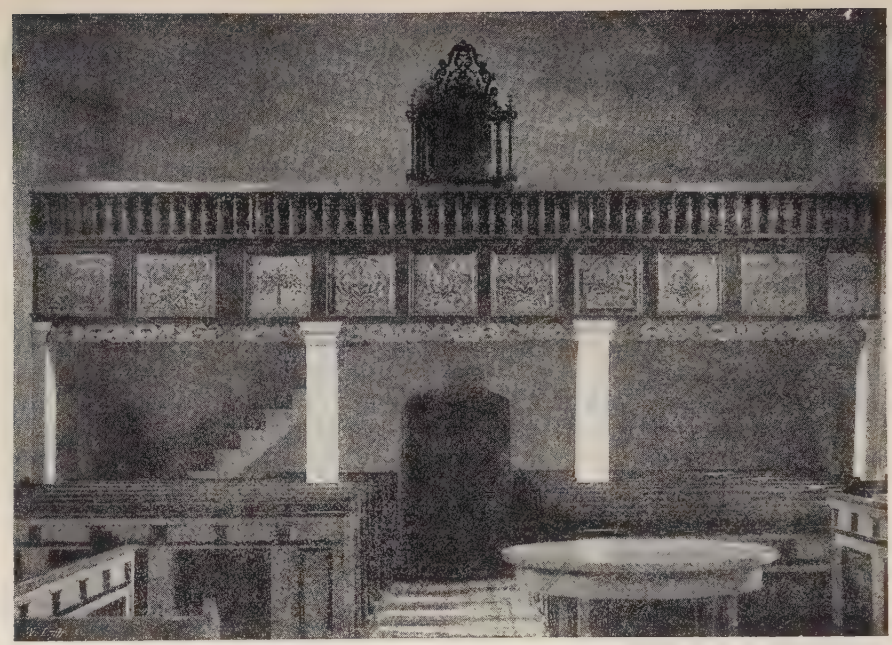
The order of the week days' prayer meeting in the *Reformed Church* is as follows: singing, short prayer, Bible-reading, prayer, the Lord's prayer, a closing prayer, appeal for collection, blessing, intimations, singing. If there is a Bible-exposition, it takes the place of the first longer prayer. The Unitarians have the following order: singing, prayer, the Lord's Prayer, short closing prayer, singing.

c) Sacramental Services.

These are of two kinds: baptism and communion service.

The order of *baptism* in the New Agenda of the *Reformed Church* is as follows: short prayer, sermon on the text of baptism, the vow of the parents or god-parents, the Apostles' Creed, prayer, the act of baptism, blessing, the singing of the congregation. If a grown person is baptised, the vow is made by the baptised person himself, and questions are put to him before the act of baptism which is followed by the admission of the baptised person into the membership of the church. The order of baptism in the *Lutheran Church* is as follows: short prayer, sermon on baptism, Apostles' Creed, questions to the god-parents, the act of baptism, the blessing of the child, prayer, blessing; if the baptism takes place in a congregation, it begins and ends with the congregation's singing. The order of the *Unitarian* baptism is this: short prayer, sermon, prayer, the Lord's Prayer, the act of baptism, blessing. Baptism is very rarely omitted by members of our Church. A very fine old custom is in our Church the so-called „egyházkelés" (Scotch: „the mother's kirkin"); the mother leaving the childbed goes first to the church where, standing before the communion table, she says a prayer of thanksgiving together with her minister.

The *communion* takes place in our Reformed congregations in the form of the so-called „moving communion", i. e. the communicants pass before the communion table. If there are two ministers celebrating the communion service, the one distributes the bread and the other the wine at the two corners of the table. If there is one minister only the members of the congregation stand in a half circle around the table and the bread and wine is brought to them by the minister. The order of the communion service is as follows: Apostolic greeting, a sermon on the text of communion, a prayer of penitence, common confession and vow, the declaration of remis-



Interior of a Reformed rural church with the communion table.

sion of sins, invitation to the Lord's table, the distribution of bread and wine, a few closing words at the end of the distribution, prayer of thanksgiving, the Lord's Prayer, blessing, the congregation's singing. In the *Lutheran Church* those who take communion kneel before the altar and the minister puts on their lips the consecrated wafer and gives them the chalice. The usual order is this: a hymn of penitence, apostolic greeting, reading of the text, words on penitence, prayer of confession, questions, absolution, the Lord's Prayer, the biblical text of the communion, the distribution, prayer of thanksgiving, blessing, the congregation's singing. The order of the *Unitarians* is this: a short preparatory sermon, prayer of penitence, the Lord's Prayer, the distribution of the bread and wine to the members or the congregation who stand always around the communion table. The distribution takes place in groups and there is a short prayer after every group, prayer of thanksgiving, the Lord's Prayer, a few words in closing, blessing, final singing.

d) Various ceremonies in the Protestant Churches.

These are the rite of confirmation, the marriage and the burial service.

Confirmation takes place in the *Reformed Church* generally at an early age of the youth of the church. Those who do not get higher education at the end of the final year of the elementary

school receive the confirmation, usually at their twelfth year of age. But there is a movement now that the age limit should be raised generally, as it is higher already for the pupils of secondary schools. The order of confirmation is this: the singing of an occasional hymn by the congregation, short prayer, sermon on the occasion, questions to the confirmants, confession and vow, confirmation by putting the hands on the heads of the confirmants, admission to the church-membership, the singing of the confirmants, a prayer for the confirmants, a common blessing to the congregation and the confirmants, the distribution of Bibles and memorial leaves, the singing of the congregation. The generally accepted form of confirmation in the *Lutheran Church* is this: the singing of the congregation, prayer, the reading of the text, sermon, the examination of and questions to the confirmants, a shaking of hands, the blessing of the confirmants one by one, the words of a confirmant to the parents and those of another to the congregation, prayer, the Lord's Prayer, blessing, the singing of the congregation. It is this in the *Unitarian Church:* the singing of the confirmants, examination, questions, distribution of the bread and wine in the usual way, an admonition by the minister.

The order of the *marriage ceremony* in the *Reformed Church* is this: short prayer, sermon, the administering of the marriage oath, admonition, prayer, the Lord's Prayer and blessing. In the *Lutheran Church:* the singing of the congregation, short prayer, the reading of the text, a sermon, the administering of the marriage oath, the blessing of the married couple, prayer, the Lord's Prayer, blessing, the singing of the congregation. In the *Unitarian Church:* short prayer, sermon, the oath or rather vow, a prayer for the married couple, the Lord's Prayer, blessing. The marriage ceremony in the church is not often omitted by our Church members; it must take place always after the civil marriage. Lately, the church marriage has been abandoned in certain cases of second marriage or if older couples are married.

Many forms and orders of the *burial services* are used in our Church. There are services held in the church, burial services with a sermon (oratio) and services with a simple prayer. The body is usually accompanied by all the mourners to the cemetery where a short service is usually held. A burial service in the church is held as a rule in smaller congregations only, while the larger town congregations bury from the church usually the ministers and very distinguished laymen only. At the burial service there is oftentimes a special choir or the congregation sings special burial hymns. The funeral sermon in rhymes, recited by the organist, is a peculiar, but rather vanishing custom of our village congregations. Another old custom is that the mourners, in villages usually a great part of the whole congregation, sing burial hymns in the streets during the way passing from the house of mourning to the cemetery.

The order of the burial service in the *Reformed Church,* if it is held in the church, is this: the singing of the congregation, prayer of the minister from the pulpit, sermon, the Lord's Prayer, the bles-

sing of the mourners. If the service is held in the house of mourning, the order of the service usually is this: singing, short prayer, sermon, prayer, the Lord's Prayer, singing. The difference between this and a simple burial service is that the sermon is substituted by Bible-reading. The service in the cemetery usually is this: singing, prayer, the reading of I Cor. XV. in parts, Apostles' Creed, the blessing of the mourners, singing. The burial service of the *Lutherans:* in the house of mourning: singing, short prayer, the reading of the text, the blessing and the dismissal of the body; in the cemetery: the Lord's Prayer, a blessing of the body, then of the mourners' congregation, singing. The burial service of the *Unitarians* consists of three rites: prayer, sermon of the minister, and a farewell, oftentimes recited, as in the Reformed Church, by the organist. In some places the body is left in the courtyard or vestibule of the church and the service is held inside. In the cemetery they sing mostly burial hymns and the minister says a few words of farewell.

2. Activities for building up the life of the Church.

The importance of upbuilding and organisation work is felt more and more in our Protestant Churches, which are very different, after all, from the massive structure, dome and cupola of the Roman Church. The proud organisation and hierarchy of the Roman Church, built up in the long centuries, will stand even if the zeal of her members should decline. But the Protestant Churches are churches built on living columns, and if these columns, the zeal of the believers, are strong, their arches may rise boldly towards the heaven, but if they are weak and full of cracks, the arches will fall. The zeal of the past, the unselfish sacrifice of our fore-fathers who suffered so much for their faith, must be a living matter for us. Evangelical Christianity can not live on the memory of its glorious past, but must be faithful to its hallowed traditions; not only must we bring our thoughts into captivity to the obedience of Christ (II. Cor. 10, 5), but we have to educate men, to form character and to create social life. We must spread the forces of evangelical faith over the whole world proving the fine saying of *Troeltsch,* who regarded the evangelical faith as the religion of heroism and activity, or the religion of deeds as *Kaiserling* thought. There is deep truth in the thought of *Kuyper* also that there is no force which can be put against revolution, except the force of the Gospel. The Evangelical churches may never descend to the level of ritualism, they ought to be and remain the Religion of the Word of God — said Bishop *Ravasz,* Everbody must learn in our church that his or her life is of value only as he or she lives for others. We ought to feel, every one of us, our individual responsibility and the responsibility of the church regarding the salvation of souls alienated from Christ. So will be created instead of the present hereditary and money aristocracy, an aristocracy of the spirit and character

which shall rule not only over our country, but all over the world in every sphere of the human life.

It is a reassuring fact that while during many years home missionary and social work was done mostly by associations organised outside the life of congregations, and there were constant misunderstandings between them and the various church authorities, big steps today have been taken toward a full understanding. The Church authorities themselves include now every home-mission and social work in their programme; and these life-building activities are now carried on in many places within the congregations themselves. This means the victory in our country also, on the field of life-building activities in the church, for *„the church proper" tendency*. So the Reformed church has organised home missions at every grade of church life, and the work of directing these is done by the Home-missionary Committee of the General Conventus itself. The Danubian and Transdanubian districts have employed ministers with special charge for home missionary work. The popularizing of these home-missionary and social activities was affected a great deal by the yearly conferences of the Budapest Theological College, held in every January, first for ministers, later for laymen and ministers' wives too. Similar conferences are held by the Reformed Ministers' Association (O. R. L. E.) in every summer in different parts of the country. A Home mission School was held in connection with the Budapest Theological College again on the proposal of the Lorántffy Zsuzsánna Egyesület (a women's association for home mission and social work). The Lutherans hold such conferences through their own Ministers' Association. A very promising beginning is the formation of the Ministers' Wives Associations in both evangelical churches.

The life-building and social activities of the Church are partly common to the Protestant Churches, partly carried on by the separate denominations. Recently the view has come into prominence that every church should do the home missian and social work in its own denominational and congregational sphere first, strengthening thus the self-consciousness of its own members, and only afterwards should unite their forces in common work and in defending their common interests.

a) **Activities for building up their life common to the Protestant Churches.**

In the Protestant Churches there are institutions and associations which do home mission and social work by common effort. Such are the following: the cause of orphans is cared for by the Protestant Orphanage Association, that of the destitute children by the Protestant Patronage Association. A number of associations work without any distinction of denomination; such are: the Sunday School Association, the Hungarian national branch of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. and the Students' Christian Movement („Pro Christo" Federation of Hungarian Students). A special Hungarian

Bible Class among the blind.

Protestant Students' Association is the Bethlen Gábor Kör and for women students the Bethlen Katalin Kör. The temperance movement is organised in the Blue Cross Association of Hungary; church social work is done amongst women by the Women's Protestant National Association; the general work of evangelisation is taken up by the Bethánia Association (the Hungarian C. E. Movement), There is a Mission Association for awakening interest in foreign missionary work; while, a social uniting of all educated Protestants is the aim of the Bethlen Gábor Federation. Besides, without a formal association, a great deal of work was done in the past and is done at present for the evangelisation of the prisoners (Emma *Dessewffy,* Margit *Maár,* the Bethánia Association) and a small, but enthusiastic society, under the leadership of Mrs. *Matolcsy,* works for supplying the blind with Bibles. They formed a small society which is called the „Vakok Világossága" (the „Light of the Blind") and have prepared already a great number of copies, with Braille characters, of the Gospels and the book of Genesis. There is a special Bible-circle for blind girls in the Bethesda Hospital.

b) **Similar activities in the different Protestant Churches.**

The *Reformed Church* has an association working for orphans under the name of „The Good Friday Society" — i. e. it was formed on a Good-Friday. The evangelistic side of the ever-growing boy scout movement is taken up amongst Reformed schoolboys by the Ichtys Association. A more general kind of evangelisation is done by the Reformed Students' Soli Deo Gloria Association, which organises many conferences for students of both sexes and for schoolboys and girls. The work among the schoolboys and girls has been entrusted recently to the Reformed Mission Council. The theological students have also an association of their own which usually holds a conference every year. Deaconesses are trained and work in the Filadelfia Deaconesses' Association and in the Lorántffy Zsuzsánna Egyesület (Association) which is doing a general work also amongst Reformed educated women. The ministers and the wives of ministers have their own associations as we have mentioned already. The Reformed schoolmasters, teachers and organists all are

S. D. G. Students' Conference in camp at Zánka.

similarly organised into associations. Social work is done among grown-up people by the Kálvin Szövetség (Federation), by the Elders' Association and by the Faith and Service Movement, which organised many conferences and the first general meeting of the Reformed Church last May in Budapest. Besides, a very valuable

S. D. G. Secondary pupils' Conference at Kápolnásnyék.

Filadelfia Deaconesses' Home, Budapest.

work of evangelisation is going on — mainly through the evangelical zeal of George *Puskás,* an officer of high rank in the Budapest police, and a member of our Church — amongst the policemen of Budapest. Evangelistic meetings are held usually now in every congregation.

In the *Lutheran Church* the deaconess' work is under the direction of the „Fébé" Deaconess Association. A similar institution is in Győr. The work of evangelisation among women is done by the Tabitha Association. The Lutheran ministers, ministers' wives, schoolmasters, teachers, have associations similar to those of the Reformed Church. They have a Foreign Mission Association also and social work is done by the Luther Federation.

In the *Unitarian Church* there is a Dávid Ferenc Egylet, a Unitarian Women's Association for general social work, and the *Dávid Ferenc Ifjúsági Kör* for work amongst youth.

3. Charitable and Social Institutions.

The Protestant Churches maintain partly together and partly separately by themselves various charitable institutions.

Institutions maintained together are as follows: the Protestant Orphanage for 100 orphans, the „Kerkápoly-Bodor" Home at Dunaalmás which keeps 100 destitute children; the Protestant Students' Home for 96 students in Budapest ,and the Protestant Mensa where 200—250 Protestant students have daily meals for a low price.

Institutions maintained *by the Reformed Church:* the Bethesda Hospital, which has been maintained by the Reformed Church now for 60 years, is for 100 and the Lorántffy Sanatorium, maintained by the Lorántffy Zsuzsánna Egyesület, is for 41 persons. The Budaőrs Orphanage keeps 50 children and the Orphanage of the Filadelfia Egylet in Pestújhely 20 boys and 20 girls in Gödöllő. The two Kálvineums, orphanages for orphan children of ministers, maintain 120 boys in Hajdúböszörmény and 102 girls in Nyíregyháza. The Budapest Theological College has a home where, besides the theological students, full boarding is given to 50—55 university and college students. The Lorántffy Zsuzsánna Egyesület has a boarding college for 30 university and women students. The Reformed church of Debrecen maintains also a large boarding college for university students. There is also in Debrecen the so-called Ispotály, established in 1705, a home for aged poor men and women.

Protestant Orphans' Home, Budapest.

Institutions maintained *by the Lutheran Church:* the Luther Home for 48 university and college students; the Lutheran Orphanage of Szarvas for 40—46 orphans (but they will open very soon a much larger institution instead of the present one); the Lutheran Home at Győr in which there are the following institutions: a boarding college for 24 schoolgirls, a few rooms for lonely aged educated women, a home, free from charge, for aged and impoverished women, and an orphanage. The congregation of Sopron maintains an orphanage also for 33 orphans, and lastly the Lutheran Orphanage at Debrecen which was closed during the War, but will be open soon again.

Protestant Children's Home at Dunaalmás.

The *Baptists* have an orphanage, and two charity homes in Kiskőrös and in Hajdúböszörmény. The *Methodists* maintain a home in Budapest for

Reformed Infirmary „Bethesda", Budapest.

young men, women and aged persons. They have an orphanage in Budakeszi.

4. The Church Press.

In the domain of the church press the Hungarian Protestant Churches can look back on a long past and the traditions of the past encourage them to further work. There were already 28 Protestant printing presses working in Hungary during the XVI. century when the first Roman Catholic press was founded at Nagyszombat in 1577. Our Bibles were printed for a long time in our country and they had to be printed abroad only when even our presses were taken away by the force of the Counter-reformation. Many members of our Church not only wrote, but themselves printed and sold their books at this time. It is recorded that Jasper *Károli*, who translated first the full Bible into Hungarian, went from market to market selling the Bibles.

a) *The Printing Houses.* The old traditions were revived only a few years ago in a greater measure. We have at the present time 5 Reformed, a Lutheran and a commonly maintained printing house. Those of the *Reformed Church* are: the large printing establishment in Debrecen maintained together by the City of Debrecen and by the Transtibiscan District. This institution prints our church hymnaries, and the greater part of the text books of every kind of Reformed school. There are printing houses in Sárospatak and Pápa connected with the colleges there. The „Bethlen" Printing House at Budapest of the Bethlen Gábor Literary and Printing House Company Limited is of Reformed character also, and the Sylvester Printing House at

Tahitótfalu (in the St. Andrews Island of the Danube near Budapest) is the property of a few Reformed ministers. The Lutheran „Fébé" Deaconess Association has a printing house in Budapest and a printing house in Békéscsaba is partly the property of the Lutheran Church. The Bethánia Printing House is maintained by Reformed and Lutherans together. The Baptists had a printing house for many years, but it is hired now.

b) *Bookshops.* Lately many bookshops have been established by the Protestant Churches. The more important *Reformed* bookshops are the „Bethlen" bookshop in Budapest, the bookshop of the Sárospatak College, the „Méliusz" bookshop in Debrecen, and the book-

„Boys Kálvineum" at Hajdúböszörmény for Reformed ministers' orphans.

shop of the Sylvester Printing House in Tahitótfalu. Besides, the Danubian and the Transdanubian church districts have organised colportages for the distribution of religious literature, besides the colportage of various church institutions and associations. The *Lutherans* have a bookshop in Békéscsaba and in Budapest, the latter being the property of the Luther Society. The Bethánia Association has also a bookshop in Budapest; the *Baptists* have a bookshop and the *Methodists* a centre for colportage.

c) *Literary Societies.* The work of evangelisation by the printed word is done by the Hungarian Protestant Literary Society, established in 1890, as the successor of the Protestáns Egylet. The Luther Society was founded in 1883. The Reformed Press Society was established in 1918 and acquired 10,000 members within less than a year, but it was forcibly destroyed during the Bolshevik regime in 1919. The Hungarian Tract Society was founded in 1921.

d) *The Protestant Press Bureau.* The two Protestant Churches lately — after many previous experiments — organised a Press Bureau in connection with a Budapest general news agency in order that the daily papers and magazines of the country should be constantly informed about the most important events of our Protestant Churches. The Bureau plans to extend this information to some important foreign church papers and magazines as well.

Until now the Hongaarsche Heraut, a monthly paper published in Dutch language, informed our Dutch brethren about the most important events of Hungarian Protestantism. The paper was published for five years, but a few months ago its publication ceased. Protestant circles now seriously think of the publication of a similar monthly magazine in English.

e) *Church Papers and Magazines.* Such are in very great number and published partly together by the Protestant Churches, partly by the different Protestant denominations and their various institutions and associations.

Papers published together are as follows: Magyar Protestánsok Lapja (The Paper of Hungarian Protestants); Diákvilág (the magazine of Protestant students); Erő (the paper of Protestant schoolboys and girls); Fecske (the magazine of the Sunday School Association); Hajnal (the magazine of the Foreign Mission movement); Mustármag (the monthly magazine of the Hungarian C. E. Movement); Örömhír (an evangelical paper for children); Protestáns Szemle (the monthly review of the Protestant Literary Society); Protestáns Tanügyi Szemle (monthly review for Protestant paedagogics); Theologiai Szemle (a scientific theological review, published bi-monthly).

Reformed church papers and magazines are as follows: Bethesda (the paper of the Filadelfia Deaconess Association); Kálvinista Szemle (a weekly paper fighting for the ideas of historical Calvinism); Keresztyén Család (a popular weekly magazine); Közlöny (the monthly magazine of theological students); Lelkészegyesület (the weekly magazine of the Reformed Ministers' Association); Őrálló (a weekly political paper which wants to be developed into a daily paper); Reformáció (a monthly magazine for home mission work); Igehirdető (a practical magazine for the pulpit); Református Sion (a magazine for diaspora work); Református Diákmozgalom (a student's monthly magazine published by the Soli Deo Gloria Association); Sárospataki Ifjúsági Közlöny (a student's magazine); Tanítók Lapja (the magazine of the teachers); Téli Ujság (a popular weekly paper for the village congregations published during the winter months only); Virágos-kert (a weekly paper for children). — Papers and magazines of the single church districts and seniorates: Debreceni Protestáns Lap (the paper of the Transtibiscan district); Dunántúli Protestáns Lap (the Transdanubian); Egyházkerületi Közlöny (the Danubian); Sárospataki Református Lapok (the Cistibiscan district's official paper); Baranyai Kálvinista Lobogó (the paper of the Baranya seniorate); Reformátusok Lapja (the paper of the Kecskemét seniorate). — Papers of congregations: the weekly paper of the

Budapest Reformed Church is the Egyházi Értesítő; the congregations near Budapest publish the Egyházi Híradó. Congregational magazines are besides in the following congregations: Baja (Bajai Református Lapja), Debrecen (Vasárnap), Derecske (Világosság), Diósgyőr (Egyházi Értesítő), Kaposvár (Kaposvári Református Lapja), Makó (Harangzúgás), Miskolc (Református Egyházi Értesítő), Pécs (Pécsi Református Lapja), Szeged (Egyházi Híradó), Újpest (Újpesti Református Lapja).

„Girls Kálvineum" at Nyiregyháza for Reformed ministers' orphans.

Lutheran church papers and magazines are as follows: Evangélikusok Lapja (the official paper of the Lutheran Church); A mi szolgálatunk (the paper of the Lutheran ministers' wives); Evangélikus Népiskola (the teachers' magazine); Fénysugár (the devotional paper of the Fébé Deaconess Association); Harangszó (an illustrated weekly paper); Lelkipásztor (a magazine for the pulpit); Új ég és új föld (a magazine for the youth); Ünnepi prédikációk (printed sermons for the diasporas). — Papers of church districts and seniorates: Christlicher Hausfreund (a German paper of three seniorates in South Hungary); Gotthold (a similar paper for the county of Sopron); Jőjjetek énhozzám (an illustrated magazine for diaspora work); Örömhír (an official monthly magazine of two seniorates in the North). There are congregational magazines in the following places: Budapest

(Evangélikus Családi Lap and Hegyen épített város), Győr (Erős várunk), Kaposvár, Kiskőrös (Apostol), Nyíregyháza, Pápa (Légy hű!).

The *Unitarians* have only one church magazine: the Unitárius Értesítő which was started in 1921, when the two church magazines of the Unitarian Church, published in Transylvania, were not permitted for several years by the Roumanian authorities to be sent into Hungary.

The *Baptists* have also quite a number of church papers, like the Békehírnök, Vasárnapi Tanító, Hajnalcsillag, A Kürt and the Friedensklänge. The paper of the *Methodists* is the Békeharang.

5. Our Tasks and Problems for the Further Development of Church Life.

Though there are gratifying signs of a re-awakening in our church life, there are still many tasks and problems before us. We shall mention here the most important of them only.

We have not yet got any programme for a methodical treatment of the labouring classes, neither have we any programme in connection with the question of the poor. Generally we should assure a much larger place in our church life for the treatment of the various *social questions and problems*. Neither have we any well thought out ways and methods for securing that educated people should be strenghened in their faith and should show accordingly much greater interest in all kinds of church affairs. We have failed also to develop the missionary spirit in many respects. The great missionary task which ought to be done sooner or later by ourselves, the conversion of Jews living amongst us, is done at the present time chiefly by the Scottish Mission and a Norwegian Mission. Nor do we treat our converts in any systematic or satisfactory way.

We must pay greater attention in future to the dangerous *social maladies* which destroy so many moral values alike in the life of our Church and of our nation. Such social maladies are: the one child system, divorce, and the alarmingly increasing number of suicides. Though the one child system which is so dangerously prevalent amongst the Reformed congregations in the counties of Baranya and Somogy, South Hungary, is caused in great measure by the social and economical consequences of the most unhealthy distribution of landed estates, the question undoubtedly has many religious and moral aspects also. Similarly the great number of divorces may be explained in some degree by the economical crisis of post-war times, but nodoby can dispute that this question must be judged from the point of view of morality and religion as well. The same can be said, even in a greater degree, about suicides.

We must develop in as high a degree as possible all *constructive forces and moral values* of our faith. The life of our Church cannot be organised on a strictly businesslike basis: it ought to be again the Body of Christ in a true manner. We must organise the life of our congregations in such a way that they shall be real and important

Hungarian Delegates leaving St. Peter's Cathedral, Geneva, after Hungarian Service, 1909 July 4

factors in every form of social progress. We ought to show not only that our Church played an important rôle in the past of the nation, but that a grand vocation awaits her in the creation of a happier Hungarian future.

We are still only at the beginning of the *foreign missionary work* without which real church life can hardly be imagined. What we have is only a small foreign missionary magazine, two small societies and a few missionaries, in the service of missionary societies abroad. It is but little excuse that we have a great number of diasporas living in the vast masses of Roman Catholicism and thus we have to do the same kind of work on their behalf that is done by our French Protestant brethren. It may be another excuse that already before the War we had many members of our Church living abroad, oftentimes in diasporas, in Yugoslavia, Roumania, the United States of America and Canada, and that the work for and amongst them exhausted our interest for work abroad. Nevertheless we ought to realize how many indescribable blessings spring from the noble work which is done by missions when they lead to the light of Christ those who sit in the darkness of the heathen world.

It is desirable that we should establish *a closer connection with our brethren abroad*. We have not got a world wide hierarchic organisation, but we have spiritual communion and living sympathy with our foreign brethren which may prove a much more living force than the former. The building up of these connections began in a most hopeful way already before the War, and after the War, in our despair and difficult position, our brethren in their unselfish sorrow and sincere sympathy towards us were anxious to renew and make closer their relations with us. Not only the Scottish Mission brought many blessings to our Church, but many other sister churches, found the way of help and sympathy. It was a most reassuring fact to know that at the times when we were completely cut away from hundreds of our brethren who were forced to live under a foreign rule, our foreign brethren went to visit and comfort them in their critical situation. The same spirit created the different relief actions which brought help to many members of our Church who were in desperate situation owing to the horrible consequences of the War and the subsequent debâcle and revolutions. They took with them our sick, oftentimes starving children who later on in hundreds and thousands were entertained and cared for by our brethren in Switzerland and the Netherlands. But they cared for the children remaining at home also. Thus were organised the so-called „gratis meals" for children. A further consequence of the action of our Dutch brethren was the foundation of a Reformed elementary school in Budapest, named after *Julianna*, the Crown princess of the Netherlands. These actions moved the hearts of many Roman Catholics abroad also and many Hungarian Roman Catholic children were brought especially to Belgium.

It was the leading of the hand of Providence when a deputation of 121 Hungarians went to the celebration of the fourth centen-

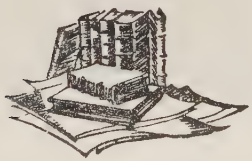
ary of Calvin at Geneva in 1909. It was the hand of Providence which directed the good work of M. *Claparède* and his wife. We are thankful to God for the most memorable visit of the 40 members of the Presbyterian Alliance's Eastern Section in 1911. Many blessings were the result of the visit of a great Hungarian deputation who went to the Aberdeen Conference of the Alliance in 1913. and

Relief of Mr. and Mrs. Claparède on the wall of the Ref. Theological College, Budapest.

and to the last Cardiff Conference of the Alliance in 1925. And we cannot but feel that the most beneficent results will follow on the visit of the two large international conferences held in Budapest during the last year: the conference of the Christian Endeavour Movement in August and the conference of the Eastern Section of the Presbyterian World Alliance in September.

Our brethren in these visits have seen for themselves their stripped and mutilated brother, who defended western Christianity with his own body against the inrush and destruction of Turks and

Tartars, and their visits have strengthened the Eastern Bastion of Protestantism which suffered so much in the past and has been dealt with so ruthlessly in the years following the Great War. The favourite symbol of the Hungarian Evangelical churches was for centuries the pelican feeding its young with its own blood. They engraved that symbol on their seals, painted it on the walls of their schools, carved it above their pulpits. We believe that God will be merciful to us, and give strength to the Hungarian Evangelical Churches, that, overcoming the difficulties of the present and straggling toward a happier future, they may remain worthy of this hallowed symbol.



III.

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND THE FUTURE OF HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM

by

BISHOP LADISLAUS RAVASZ, PH. D.

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND THE FUTURE OF HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM.

Hungary's mission in history.

It was one of the most momentous deeds in the history of South-Eastern Europe when King Stephen I. of Hungary, canonized in later times by the Roman Church, attached his unruly people to the stream of Western civilisation, by obtaining for it a new faith, a crown, a queen, a form of government and a social structure from Western Europe. Had he linked up, instead, with the East, the sphere of the Balkans would have extended practically as far as Vienna, and the last thousand years of Europe's spiritual history would have taken a wholly different direction. By not attaching himself to the East, he extended the realm of Western Christianity and Western European culture as far down as Brassó and the Iron Gates in the South. Henceforth, the granite wall of the Carpathians, encircling his Kingdom, stood like a vast spur of ice against the threatening floods of Asiatic people, and while, beyond their pale, nations arose and disappeared and races of two continents whirled and surged, within their granite walls *one* state, *one* national spirit, *one* language and *one* civilisation unfolded its life in a continuity of a thousand years. It was therefore Hungary's historical fate to serve as a breakwater between the West and the East. On the one hand Hungary could never become an Eastern state, because its fate was linked up in every respect with that of the West. But just as evidently, on the other hand, Hungary could never become a Western state in the sense in which this was possible for Switzerland, Germany, or even Austria, because its life became necessarily organised into a filtering system, through which it transmitted the influences of the West towards the East only in so far as it was able to paralyse the assaults of the East in defence of the West. If it is true that European culture extends so far as Gothic architecture does, the most Easterly old Gothic church-building, that of the Saxon Lutheran Church at Brassó, marks the Easternmost frontier of spiritual Europe which need not at all coincide with the frontiers of geographical Europe. Whatever exertions Hungary had made as an independent national state from 1000 A. D. up to 1500 A. D., both for the upbuilding of her own cultural life and in the service of human progress in general, will assure to her the recognition of any unbiassed historian,

who at the same time will acknowledge the fact that this whole development was the result of St. Stephen's decisive step by which he identified his people with the cause of Western Christian culture. This whole period finds its termination and at the same time its most exalted culmination in the brilliant figures of the two Hunyadys.

The significance of Hungarian Protestantism.

Another event, equalling in importance the act of St. Stephen, occurred in the XVI. century when a large part of Hungary became acquainted with the purified Evangelical faith and joined that spiritual current which sprang from the Reformation. This event too, entailed great consequences for the general history of Europe, especially that of its Protestant section. The Reformation had separated Europe into two parts, the Northern and the Southern zone. The Southern was racially Latin, the Northern Germanic. In the Southern the Reformation could not strike roots, or if it did, it was easily and soon exterminated. In the Northern it triumphed, and, although passing through terrible inner crises, gradually became the dominant spiritual factor of history. Certainly there were Germanic elements, considerable in number, which remained Roman Catholic, but the leading rôle fell into the hands of their Protestant fellow-countrymen who were able, through the bonds of national unity, to bring even these Roman Catholic groups into a partnership of serving directly or indirectly the cause of Protestant ideals. The leading position in the cultural development of Europe was taken over by the Northern races and at the same time they became the dominating factor in the whole world's history and in the advancement of human civilisation in general. A network of powerful cultural connections came into being; strong spiritual lines of defence were built up across the national dividing frontiers. The universities and colleges functioned as beating hearts in the organism of Protestant cultural life, contracting and dilating, drawing from its whole body the youthful and most promising element and pouring it again afresh over the whole sphere, sending out, generation after generation, the young and the gifted, seers and heroes, to ever new outposts, in high places and in low places as so many missionaries of the cause of Evangelical culture. The spiritual imperialism of mediaeval Roman Catholicism, like the icy crust at the approach of springtime, began to break and to melt away here and there, and wherever it decreased, a new life of national states, full of promise and indestructible vigour, broke forth like seedlings of a new season. In this whole vast struggle, waged between the North and the South, between the Spirit of the Gospel and that of ritualism, between the Word and sacramental occultism, there were few strategic points so important as Hungary, and except Switzerland and Holland there was none surpassing it in such importance. Hungarian Protestantism was the stronghold whose function was to hold in check from behind, the mighty Roman Catholic giant of the Habsburg Empire. It was

Members of the Conference of the Presbyterian Alliance, Eastern Section, Budapest, 1911.

not a big factor, just big enough not to be easily crushed out of existence, but it was brave and did not spare its life. As a consequence a good part of the strength of the Habsburg Empire was continually diverted and paralysed, and thereby more than once the fate of the whole struggle was decided in favour of the Protestant cause. For the history of England, Holland, Germany, and all Scandinavia, it was no matter of unconcern that in Hungary, the main recruiting ground and grain growing territory of the Habsburgs, there arose a series of Protestant champions of liberty courageously challenging their enemy's incomparably superior forces. Neither was it a matter of indifference to the Western Protestant countries that the English, Dutch, German and Scandinavian seats of learning were visited by a continuous stream of Hungarian students, swarming back from there in inexhaustible succession as missionaries of their cause to South-Eastern Europe, reading their literature, teaching their philosophy of life, representing their conceptions of history and serving their ideals. Protestantism has won its farthest advancement towards the East of Europe through the Hungarians, and it was due to a Hungarian prince and Hungarian bishops, that its radiating influences once reached down as far as Constantinople. Throughout the centuries Hungarian Protestantism rendered pioneer-service, wedging in between and separating from one another two sections of the Roman Catholic Slavs, the Northern and the Southern ones. There were times when scholars from England and Germany went down to Transylvania „promotionis causa", and a library could be filled with Hungarian books the publication of which was welcomed in complimentary verse, by professors of the most distinguished universities of the West. The extraordinary significance of these facts cannot be overlooked, especially if these centuries are compared with the history of Roman Catholic Poland, or the Greek Oriental Balkans. To Switzerland, Scotland, or to Holland the Transylvanian Gyulafehérvár or Kézdivásárhely was much nearer a neighbour than the geographically much less distant Vienna, Innsbruck or Prague. The Protestant community of the world can never become forgetful of these facts of the past. These things are not paraded here as Hungarian merit nor spoken of in self praise, but simply with the desire that they should be known and remembered.

The significance of Protestantism for Hungary's history.

Hungary, we have said, had joined her fate entirely to that of Western Christianity and Central European culture. This involved in consequence an internal struggle for the nation and scattered the seeds of a historical tragedy. The cultural fellowship namely to which Hungary had attached herself was composed to a large part of the German element, with a language and a spirit of high absorbing and assimilating power. Very soon Hungary came up against the dilemma of either becoming Westernised and then losing her Hungarian national character, or maintaining her Hungarian identity,

but forfeiting her culture. During the first 500 years, as an independent national kingdom the country did not feel yet the full weight of this problem, since on the one hand national tendencies were not yet very pronounced, and on the other hand, the political independence of the country kept the balance. But when after the break-up of the independent national state the head of the German-Roman Empire became also King of Hungary, at once the danger of being assimilated with and absorbed into the huge German mass began to threaten especially that fraction of the Hungarians which came under the direct rule of the Emperors in one third of the shattered country. To the German Roman Empire the Hungarians always appeared as an alien body within the great organism, and that without giving any sign of willingness to become encysted. In consequence special efforts were made to paralyse the Hungarians in the interests of the unity of the Empire. The surest means towards this end seemed to be that of a spiritual domination, seeing that a unity of faith would have created a unity of mind and that in its turn would have naturally created a unity of will. This scheme however was frustrated by the fact that a large part of the Hungarians had become Protestant. Through the bonds of their Protestant faith these Hungarians felt spiritually united, not with the Habsburgs but with those countries which were just the sworn enemies of this great power. The religious question thus became the main problem of internal politics, since it was intertwined with all the other political questions. The issue of the national sovereignty was involved in it, since the cause of Protestantism and that of national independence became one and the same. The issues of foreign politics were involved in it, since the unity and the aggressive power of the Empire depended on the question as to how far religious and political unity is assured in such a delicate and significant part of the Empire as Hungary was, through the territory of which the dividing line ran between the West and the East, the German-Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire. Therefore in Hungary, to change one's faith meant to change lot, destiny and future. It meant to transfer one's life from the sphere of one to that of the other of the two conflicting forces of the Empire: the centripetal and the centrifugal. Thus a situation arose in which, during 400 years, whatever worked for and assured the national independence and self-determination of Hungary, was either wholly Protestant or at least stood under the decisive influence of the Protestants. And on the contrary, whatever aimed at a weakening and suppression of the Hungarians, directed its first and foremost attack against their Protestant faith. For a long time the issues were divided thus: to be Protestant meant to be Hungarian and to be Roman Cathalic meant to be German, or more precisely, to be Protestant meant to stand for the rights of the nation and liberty, to be Roman Catholic meant to stand for denationalization and the betrayal of liberty. This helps to explain the fact that in the wars for Hungary's liberty, there throbbed always the inspiration of religious motives, and the struggles for religious

liberty were always inspired at the same time by national ideals. The wars for liberty were successful as long as they were at the same time wars for the liberty of the faith, or in other words as long as the small Protestant state of the Transylvanian principality had the leading rôle in them. After Transylvania's decay and loss of independence, Protestantism took part in these wars for liberty only through its individual adherents but not in any corporate capacity. Francis Rákóczy II., himself a Roman Catholic, commanded an army composed to 90% of Protestants, but the last uprising under Kossuth in 1848—49, although very largely initiated and led by Protestants, had no religious character anymore.

From the above, the conclusion may be drawn that Protestantism has repaid its debt to the Hungarian nation for the sacrifices it has borne for it; it has repaid by helping Hungary to maintain its national independence. And that in three ways. First, it has built up a national, purely Hungarian culture. Secondly, it has inspired a series of successful wars for Hungary's national independence. And thirdly, through its universal influence and through the power of its truths, it has permeated the whole nation with ideals of liberty and nationality, standing aside quietly when the wars for liberty had no religious aims anymore, but arose purely out of national motives.

Protestantism and the Modern State.

Another service which Protestantism rendered in the history of Hungary, beside helping to save the nation's independence and individuality, is found in its great contribution to the upbuilding of Hungary's modern state-life. The great transformation which the whole inner structure and the mental outlook of Europe underwent during the XVIIIth. and XIXth. centuries, which gave birth to the modern State, modern social life and the modern economic system, — whether we call it the movement of Enlightenment or of Liberalism — found its way to Hungary through Protestant channels and won its victories there indirectly through Protestant efforts. As a matter of fact the cause of Enlightenment and Protestantism became merged in a measure, and, for a time, one lived its life in that of the other. Protestant schools became the glowing centres of this spiritual movement and Protestant teachers its apostles. Owing to the fact that Protestantism had a better developed school-system than Roman Catholicism, it was chiefly out of its ranks that a liberal-minded generation arose, which, after great crises and sufferings, transformed the feudal state-system of Hungary into that of a modern state. The sovereignty of the people, parliamentary government, common taxation, equality before the law, secular supremacy in administration as well as in legislation, equality and reciprocity between the religious denominations both in principle and in practice, these were all ideas which, although not belonging to the essence of Protestantism in the same way as their contrasting ideas belonged to the essence of Roman Catholicism, yet propagated themselves and

permeated the national consciousness, chiefly through the channels of Protestantism. It was soon discovered, of course, that there is no essential relationship between Protestantism on the one hand and modern state-ideals and social systems on the other hand, for modern state life and social development soon began to tend towards revolutionary methods and socialistic programmes, the spirit of which, or as they themselves used to call it, the ideology of which constitutes an absolute contrast with the Evangelical spirit of Protestantism. But just herein Protestantism finds one of its magnificent historic tasks. Only where Protestantism can unfold its life unhindered is there hope, that the tremendous tension between a social

Hungarian Delegates at the Synod of the Presbyterian Alliance, Cardiff, 1925.

democracy on the one hand and a reactionary clericalism on the other hand may find a solution in the Christian sense, a solution which safeguards wholesome historical evolution, assures the fullest measure of liberty, and at the same time saves the eternal values of the spiritual life.

Through embracing Roman Christianity in the XIth. century Hungary had assured her place within the sphere of Western culture. Protestantism in its turn helped to save Hungary as a nation, laid the foundations for the development of her modern political and social life, creating at the same time an outpost for the universal cause of Protestantism which, through its strategic position rendered invaluable services. If we add to these two spiritual functions of Hungary the military services which she rendered to the West, throw-

ing her living flesh into the teeth of forces threatening Europe from the East, we may draw the conclusion that there certainly was some value and worth in the life and in the struggles of this nation, on the ground of which she could expect some measure of recognition and appreciation on the part of Western civilization.

The ecclesiastical aspect of Hungarian Protestantism.

Looking now more closely into the essentials of Hungarian Protestantism, we must notice the fact that it is primarily ecclesiastical in its character.

There was a time when Hungarian Protestantism whirled between extreme lines as a living, surging, chaotic flood. In its first period it is impossible to ascertain who is Lutheran, who has already elements of Calvinism in himself, who is crossing the line toward Unitarianism, although such questions have been raised with much urgency and kept in the foreground of interest. But soon the process of crystallization comes to an end and Hungarian Protestantism assumes form in three historic units: the Reformed, the Lutheran and the Unitarian Church. Only in most recent times do we witness here and there small groups of Methodist and Baptist communities, springing up largely in the form of sectarian movements, and not acquiring so far any larger importance from the point of view of Protestantism in general.

The Lutheran and Reformed churches were divided, besides their doctrinal differences, mainly by racial aspects. Calvinism took hold of the pure Hungarian element, and up till today it can be said that the Protestants among the pure Hungarians are mostly Calvinists. Lutheranism spread chiefly among the German inhabitants of Hungary, especially the burghers of the towns, and also among large numbers of the Slovaks, the Northern-Slavic people living in Hungary. Two other nationalities living in Hungary, the Roumanians and the Serbs remained Greek Oriental. In later times the pure Hungarian Reformed section of the population became somewhat mixed with scattered German Reformed groups, through the colonizations of the XVIIIth. century, especially from the German Palatinate. Among the Lutherans there were also a good number of strong Hungarian congregations, especially in the Western districts of the country, and many noble Hungarian aristocrats under the guidance and spiritual leadership of whom the Lutheran Church of Hungary fulfilled an important national mission, functioning as a unifying force among the various nationalities and reconciling their antagonisms. Finally her own unity broke up into conflicting national tendencies, the Lutheran Slovaks in the North and the Lutheran Saxons (Germans) in the South East separating themselves from it as distinct spiritual entities. (The latter had a separate organisation of their own from the beginning, constituting in consequence a separate political entity.) This inner disruption of the Lutheran Church became manifest after the Great War at the dismemberment of Hun-

gary, when the Saxons of Transylvania welcomed their annexation by Roumania, and the Lutheran Slovaks in the North took a leading part in the creation of the Czechoslovak State.

The Unitarian Church was purely Hungarian from the beginning and remains so to this day. As a matter of fact, this church is entirely Transylvanian, since practically all its adherents belong to the „Szekler" population of that district. As a people's church it has lost its doctrinal character in many places to such a degree, that there were, and still are, villages in which Unitarian and Reformed ministers could exchange pulpits without difficulty, and rely upon the same literature in their work of preaching. On the other hand, in the past it was mostly with the Reformed Church that the Unitarians had to fight their struggles, as is easily understood from the historical conditions of those times.

The public character of the Churches.

In all the three churches one is struck at a first glance with their semi-political public character. They form an interesting transitional type between that of free churches and that of state-churches. There was a time when the Reformed Church had the position of a state church in Transylvania, and when the two Protestant churches embraced the overwhelming majority of the people and the nobility of Hungary. But likewise there were times when all Protestant churches in Hungary were in the position of persecuted churches and when anyone standing up for their interests had to risk his head and his property. At such times they were entirely thrown upon their own resources not only in so far as they had to take care themselves of all material needs of their church-life and schools, but, beyond this, the powers of the State incessantly endeavoured even to strangle their free activities and to suppress their development by the imposition of extraordinary burdens. There were times when the means of the State were placed at the disposal of Reformed Schools, and again there were times when poor Reformed congregations were robbed of their ancient church-buildings to be handed to foreign friars, and the Reformed congregations had no other choice than to buy first the favour of the Imperial Chancellor through a gift of a large amount of money, that on his proposal „His Holy Majesty might most graciously grant them permission to raise a new church building" out of their own money instead of the ancient one robbed of them. Such permissions were granted only in one or two cases in every county, and even then only on the condition that the new church must be erected in the courtyard of a house, out of public sight, in order not to offend the eyes of the faithful Roman Catholics.

But however fierce and relentless these persecutions were, they could not obscure the public character of the Protestant Churches. The explanation of this was as follows. The Roman Catholic Church enjoyed the rights of a state-church in Hungary and intended to remain also in this position. Its functions had the sanction of state-

functions; its dignitaries figured as state-officials; its bishops and archbishops occupied positions in the political organisation of the country; its wealth, and an enormous wealth it was, had accumulated out of state-endowments. Therefore, when the Protestant churches strove for recognition on the part of the State, it was an ideal of equality and reciprocity which they kept before their eyes. This claim found its fulfillment in the law XX. of 1848, which declared that the relationship between the religious denominations of the country is that of perfect equality and reciprocity, and that in consequence all their expenditure, both for church and school purposes, should be defrayed out of public funds. This church-political ideal, which had inspired the long struggles of Hungarian Protestantism naturally influenced them to set high value upon the maintenance of their public character.

Even today the Protestant Churches are fulfilling a number of State-functions, just as the Roman Catholic Church does, and receive in turn the financial support of the State. The following are in the main the features assuring the public character: e. g. of the Reformed Church. A certain number of her bishops and chief-lay-curators are ex officio members of the legislature. The church as a whole stands under the highest inspection of the Sovereign, the laws enacted by the church's general synod receiving his sanction and thereby becoming just as valid as the State-laws. The church has a right to tax her members, to impose upon them disciplinary punishment, to pass and to carry out her own laws and regulations. In all these processes the state is obliged to give her public assistance whenever necessary without judging the merits of the case. Finally the church is entitled to maintain schools of all grades and the certificates of her schools have the same validity as those of the state-schools. All these public rights are exercised by the Protestant Churches through their own autonomous corporations. In Hungary not only the Reformed Church is, but also the Lutheran and Unitarian Churches are Presbyterian in their form of government, and, what is of peculiar interest, even the Roumanian Greek-Orthodox Church of Hungary developed a semi-presbyterian organisation of her own which she lost only when becoming absorbed into the state church of Roumania after the Great War.

The central idea of church-politics.

On the ground of all that has been said above, it may be stated that reliance upon such public privileges as they enjoy today must be regarded by the Hungarian Protestant Churches merely as a temporary, transitory policy. Their efforts must be directed towards being able to assume a position of „free churches within a free state" at any given moment without losses or disturbances to their prosperity. As long as the Roman Catholic Church continues in the enjoyment of an enormous wealth derived from state-endowments, and of significant public privileges of various sorts, it is the right of Protestants on the ground of equality and reciprocity to demand likewise

from the State the establishment of their position and the fulfilment of their proportionate claims. Since however it is to be expected that the State's resources will not always bear the payment of weighty sums for the churches' support, and that in consequence a separation between the State and the Churches' affairs will necessarily arrive sooner or later, the Churches' evident duty is to prepare themselves for such a crisis and to shoulder the increased burdens and responsibilities of such a new situation.

The churches' inner life. The Reformation. Orthodoxy. Rationalism.

During the XVIth. century Hungarian Protestantism was marked by a strong missionary character. It faced the task of digging in the pillars and laying the foundations of the Kingdom of God amidst the chaotic conditions of those days. Preachers arriving home from abroad wandered, staff in hand, through the whole country. Sometimes they stirred the hearts of the people as bards singing songs which interpreted God's ways in the nation's fate. At other times, they set up printing presses and sold their publications in the markets. Sometimes they wrote popular plays and performed them in street and market, exposing their opponents to ridicule. The great truths of the teaching of the Reformation were in the minds and on the lips of everybody, simple folk as well as influential nobles, as the most vital problems of their lives. Meanwhile, these first champions of the Reformation worked on quietly, suffering want, bearing even martyrdom with faithfulness unto death. After them followed a period which may be called the *doctrinal period*, the days of orthodoxy. Missionary zeal abated and theological „rabies" took its place. The main thing now was the purity of doctrine, the clearly defined creed, the „establishment of truth" and the „overthrowing of errors". Hairsplitting distinctions, keen polemics, resolute apologetics were the outstanding features of this period. Religion became practically an objective affair, embodied in doctrinal statements. This age has undoubted merits in clarifying religious conceptions and strengthening convictions. In the following century our Reformed Church lives almost merely a liturgical life, and her life-stream trickles in a thin devotional literature. It was during this period that a flood of *rationalism* swept over the churches, extinguishing in them the prophetic element and the power of orthodoxy. The ministers seemed to be but poorly paid state-officials whose function was to serve the general public welfare, exercising some sort of spiritual administration, and the excellency of a minister consisted in his being tolerant to all opinions, demanding as little faith as possible, and showing the fullest understanding towards all heterodoxies. The Church lost her confessional consciousness, her doctrinal unity and her spiritual purity. Every man taught as he liked, and only in one matter was punctilious conscientiousness observed: to avoid even the semblance of heresy-hunting. Thus the

church came to be robbed of her spiritual power, of her contact with the soul of the people and even more so with that of the educated classes. In her endeavour to be abreast of the times the church became entirely absorbed into the life of the world and a peculiar sort of religious minimalism became prevalent in her.

The revival in the Churches.

This was the general situation in which a religious revival came to the help of the Churches, starting from Budapest about half a century ago and spreading victoriously to this day. It began as a non-ecclesiastical pietistic movement, in the form of free organisations, although submitting to the leadership of men who held positions in the Churches, mostly ministers. Its type resembled that of the great religious renewal of Germany. There, in the shadow of the „Landeskirche" a home-missionary movement had arisen, independent of the Church, in its organisation, although spiritually identified with her, with a unified system separate in itself, — the type known after Wichern's name. The result was that practically two churches existed alongside one another: on the one hand a dynamic one, with the lay-element predominating in it, and intensely active in evangelisation and works of charity, and on the other hand a static one, relying on the traditions of the past, somewhat petrified both in teaching and practice, and occupied mainly with liturgical and administrative functions: in one word, the „official church". Through ingenious organisation and much self-control friction between the two was reduced to a possible minimum. Yet even in theology the two were divided by differences, the „official church" being either liberal or orthodox in her teaching, the home-missionary community on the other hand evangelically-minded, with a touch of pietism, limiting itself to a general Christian position, somewhat at war with all theology as such; in one word, representing a certain type of „practical Christianity". In Hungary too, the situation was such that over against an „official church", subsidized by the state, occupying a privileged position in public life, exhausting her activities in her liturgical life and in church-government, but shirking all missionary duties, or at the best, offering only lip-service to these, there arose a new religious life in voluntary, independent organisations, first in the capital, but soon in various other centres of the country. As a consequence some of the most vital pastoral duties of the church, such as Sunday-school teaching, visiting in hospitals and prisons, open-air preaching, the care of the poor, evangelisation, religious literature, the press, training of deaconesses, etc., were, and very largely still are, taken care of by private organisations and agencies, outside the organised life of the church. Immense blessings came through these activities, noteworthy results were achieved, and there is much reason to look back on them with deep gratitude. There was one great advantage especially in this situation, namely, that in all these movements the principle of voluntary, sacrificial

Delegates of the Conference of the Presbyterian Alliance, Eastern Section, Budapest, 1927.

devotion, personal responsibility for and wholehearted consecration to the cause, had the fullest possible sway and that in consequence extraordinary powers could be released for the service of the Kingdom of God. The weakness of the situation, however, consisted in the fact, that such spontaneous movements were apt to disintegrate indefinitely, and to distrust all control or guidance on the part of the church. Every voluntary organisation was likely to find, from one day to the other, a rival movement arising at its side, with the result of an unending multiplication of organisations and an enormous waste of energies. Also from the point of view of responsibility and competency, difficulties began to make themselves felt. In the organised life of the church every factor has a clearly defined sphere; the responsibilities of each one are marked out, every one is subject to a superior corporation before which he is expected to give an account of his service. All this being absent from the work of religious organisations of a private character, their services are lacking in universally acknowledged validity.

In the Hungarian revival these drawbacks were soon recognised, both in the Reformed and in the Lutheran Church and another ideal of reform began to win the field. Its way had been prepared in the former church for long through contact with the English-speaking Churches, especially through the influences of the Scottish Mission in Budapest and young ministers studying in Scotland. Finally it was started from two sources, separate from one another both in time and space: one in Transylvania, a friendly circle grouped around the monthly periodical „The Way" (Az Út) and the other at Budapest in a group which had its centre in the „Calvinistic Review" (Kálvinista Szemle). The former was inspired largely by influences of German theology; the latter propagated ideals of a strict and uncompromising Calvinism according to the Dutch pattern. The two movements were somewhat different in their theology but both were at one in the conviction that the church herself must be transformed so as to live out her creed and to rise to her spiritual responsibilities; and that in consequence the church herself should undertake all home-missionary functions as far as possible and only in such fields should non-denominational agencies continue their activities in which, for some reason, the church herself could not serve the existing needs in the best way. Over against the existing well-developed missionary movement, the ideal of these schools was formulated in the following programme: „we must evangelise the church herself, in order that she may absorb the independent home-missionary agencies and movements".

It was clear from the beginning that such an endeavour had to guard itself against two dangers. First, it would have been a tremendous mistake to attempt a reconstruction of the home-mission situation in a way which would have meant a weakening of the flourishing and blessed activities of the independent factors, without being able to replace them adequately by corresponding services of the church's own factors. Secondly, one had to be extremely careful

not to miss that paramount element which looms so large always in the economy of the Holy Spirit, namely, the sacrificial spirit of voluntary devotion.

This programme is being promoted now in the Reformed Church through the Home Mission Committees which were formed within every church-court of all grades under the auspices and guidance of the Home-Mission Committee of the General Conventus. The whole movement finds valuable enforcement also through the comprehensive activities of the „Faith and Service Movement" the definite aim of which is to unite and to coordinate all independent religious organisations for a renewal of the Church's own life. The parallel tendencies among the Lutherans have not assumed so far the same proportions visibly, taking this Church as a whole, although in certain districts exemplary adaptations to the new needs have taken place, e. g. the model home-missionary organisation of the Transdanubian Church district. The task of the immediate future therefore is to build up a living, spiritually quickened Church. This involves a radically changed ideal for the ministers, in which the prophetic and apostolic elements will gain predominance again and the primary requisite will be that ministers be men of God and witness bearers with power. A readjustment of the church's activities will necessarily follow. The care devoted to liturgical functions, administrative affairs and educational activities will be equalled, and even surpassed by the attention paid to the pastoral care of souls, various spiritual activities within the congregations, home-missionary services, and foreign missions. The Church will become aware of the fact that she is able to serve public welfare only in so far as she becomes again a decidedly religious institution; or, in other words, the church will be recognized as an indispensable and unique factor of the people's general well-being not in spite of, but just because of, and through, her specifically religious nature.

„Danubian" and „Tisanian" Calvinism.

It has been said, and quite rightly, that Hungarian Calvinism is composed of two clearly distinguishable elements, one living along the shores of the Danube, and the other situated in the great plain of the river Tisza. The Danubian group lives in scattered parts intermingled with other elements of the population, and has its spiritual centre in Budapest. The Tisanian group forms a number of solid blocks, Calvinists being the majority of the population in those respective districts. The spiritual centre of this group is found at Debrecen. It is quite natural that the Danubian Calvinistic group opened itself first to the influences of the revival and that here the richest harvest of this movement became visible. But the same leaven is at work within the Tisanian Calvinistic group. The full awakening of this latter element and the unfolding of its latent possibilities will mean in reality the arrival of Hungary's spiritual springtime, in which the dormant spiritual powers accumulated through centuries in this most distinctly Hungarian, and most decidedly Calvinistic po-

pulation will blossom out again in new vitality, with nation-wide effects. The spiritual renewal of Tisanian Calvinism will be the most momentous event of the XXth. century in Hungary's religious development.

This distinction between the Danubian and the Tisanian element in Hungarian Calvinism has its most important bearing on the matters of church politics. It is only natural that the Tisanian element, enjoying as it does a majority-position should follow a distinct tendency of its own in this field. Full of the vivid memories of grievances suffered in the past, it believes that the safeguards of its future interest are to be found primarily in the sphere of politics and state-life, namely in an honest and complete application of the state laws placing all denominations on a level of equality and reciprocity. This policy is therefore primarily directed against Roman Catholicism and it finds its natural allies in those elements of the political left wing which rally the adherents of liberal, radical and socialistic ideals against the Roman Church, now powerfully aggressive and politically expanding under the regime of a moderate conservative government. Being a majority in its districts, Tisanian Calvinism is conscious of its strength and follows the paths of historic traditions with a rather intense selfreliance, struggling at the same time hard against the ascending new political powers of the day. It is just as natural on the other hand that the Danubian element, which finds itself in a minority-position and which has undergone in its entirety, to some measure at least, a spiritual renewal, is moved in its life by a stronger missionary spirit and in consequence has a somewhat different outlook with regard to its friends and enemies. First of all it is keenly conscious of a front, which is perhaps being neglected somewhat by Tisanian Calvinism, namely the line of defence over against aggressive modern unbelief. In this warfare it feels itself to be in solidarity with Christians of all denominations and therefore looks upon the largest and most massive of them in Hungary, the Roman Catholic Church, as an ally in this respect. It does not think of giving up its line of defence over against aggressive clericalism either, but along this front its fight is much more of a defensive than of an offensive character. It is governed by the consideration that, as it was proved by numerous experiences during past centuries, the position of Hungarian Protestantism was most unassailable whenever it succeeded in rallying for its ideals in one camp, not only its own adherents but also large numbers of intelligent Roman Catholics, independent of the domination of clericalism. It refrains itself therefore from any such aggressive attitude towards Roman Catholicism, as would drive unbiassed, intelligent Roman Catholics into the one camp against the assaults suffered in common. This policy, is, one might say, a historic heritage in the life of Hungarian Protestantism, for, ever since the end of the XVIIIth. century, up to most recent times, it has constantly enjoyed the effective support and chivalrous assistance of enlightened Roman Catholic statesmen in the maintenance of its liberty and in its struggle for equal rights.

This explains also why the members of the great Protestant Churches in Hungary, the Reformed and the Lutherans, do not think of forming a political party-group in the life of their nation, however much they may admire such precedents in this respect as that e. g. of the Anti-revolutionary Party in Holland, and however easily their organisation might lend itself to serve as a basis for political organisation. Hungarian Protestantism feels that it can prevail best in the public life of Hungary by fulfilling the functions of the leaven. Leaven must become mixed with the dough and nobody would care to eat cake made out of leaven alone. Any other policy would condemn Hungarian Protestantism hopelessly to a minority position in politics. If we look back to the history of Hungary and try to extract from it all those Protestant elements which through their governmental abilities had a part in shaping the country's fate, and supposing in imagination, that their genius of statemanship would have been laid barren through an agelong minority-party position, we cannot but regard the ensuing result as an enormous impoverishment of national life. A second consideration is that throughout generations Hungarian Protestantism functioned in the nation's life as a reconciling and unifying force. This is evident from the fact that Hungary's life became always sick whenever Transylvania, that is, a strong Protestant element, had no part to play in her affairs. Should the forces of Protestantism be extracted from Hungary's present day public life, in order to be organised as a separate party-group, the remaining two-thirds would at once fall asunder into two sharply opposed extremes. One half would shape itself into a fiery globe of most extreme radicalism, the other into one of most fanatic clericalism. Three forces are at play therefore, like so many huge billiard-balls, a red, a black and a white one: Socialism, Clericalism and Protestantism. If we ask, which of the three would find the greatest number of allies under present circumstances of the world, and which could command the greatest forces among the masses, the answer is that undoubtedly the cause of Protestantism would be in the least favourable position. Finally, if we compare the three powers from the point of view of the mass-instincts and driving forces at work in them, the result will be that Protestantism is the last among them in the matter of mass-fanaticism, since its strength lies in individual personalities and it presupposes a certain spiritual selection of a higher type. Over and above all this the two other powers are more compact in their unity, while across Protestantism there runs a fissure dividing it into the Calvinistic and Lutheran types, certainly allowing a very intimate, friendly comradeship, nevertheless rendering an organic unity impossible. All this means that the result of an attempted separate political grouping of Protestantism would mean the rending asunder of national life by immensely sharpened and embittered inner conflicts, the standstill of all constructive political activity, the bankruptcy of

public life, and in such a general national cataclysm first of all Protestantism's own disastrous disintegration.

The real political mission of Hungarian Protestantism is to work for a synthesis and reconciliation between the red and black antipodes. It will fulfil its historic task in the nation's life the better the more remote elements of public life it can comprehend, and in the more intense a sense of unity it can cultivate in them, or to speak in geometrical terms, the nearer it will draw the foci of the ellipse towards the centre of a circle in which their tension finds its solution.

Hungarian Protestant Theology.

In its theological thought Hungarian Protestantism started under the influence of the German Reformation, more especially under that of *Melanchthon* whose well-known cryptocalvinism had a considerable share in the awakening of an ever more lively interest in the Swiss reformers and particularly *Calvin*. Since the establishment of Calvinism in Hungary the situation was this, that while the Lutheran Church found, and is still finding, its home chiefly in German Lutheran theological thought, Calvinism on the other hand shows various phases. During the XVIIth. century and in most recent times, strong tendencies of Calvinistic orthodoxy were at work; at other times, especially through Transylvania's influences, episcopalian elements intermingled; on the whole here too, the impact of German theology was noticeable from time to time. As long as Latin held sway as an international language of science, written and understood by theologians of all nations, Hungarian divines had a chance to make their contribution to universal theological thought, although, it must be added, the incessant warfares which kept those very ages in continuous disturbance, did not permit the Hungarian Protestant academics of those times to develop an independent and continuous school of theology of their own. The history of our colleges shows that their students were ever and again decimated in these incessant wars and there was scarcely a generation in which the parishes were not threatened with devastation by some enemy. The greatest Hungarian theologian of the XVIIth. century, Stephen *Gelei Katona*, records that most of his works had to be written in camp, on paper spread over his knees, in utter absence of books and other prerequisites of scholarly labours, his learned memory being the only source on which to rely. The clash of arms is therefore audible even in the sermons of these times; preaching itself became a spiritual form of the unending contest. Again, during the XVIIIth. century the development of a flourishing theology was rendered impossible through the tyrannical measures of the Vienna-court, forbidding the treatment of any subject that would have involved problems of systematic theology. It was permitted to write prayer-books, even to publish sermons, perhaps also books on practical and historical theology might be printed, but systematic theology was high treason. During the XIXth. century it was only the language difficulty which

stood in the way of cooperation with foreign theology, but, especially, for the ministers of the Reformed Church, this difficulty was almost prohibitive. A number of richly gifted men, but poor in temporal means, went abroad, spent a few years there, then returned home and their connections with foreign theology ended. To produce a theological literature published in foreign languages and thus to render services to theological learning in general, would have demanded material means which were entirely beyond the reach of these Hungarian scholars. As a consequence Hungarian Protestant theological literature, more than that of any other country, chiefly concerns itself with presenting and popularizing the results of Western theologial learning without essentially contributing to the advancement of these results. The same conditions furnish also an explanation of the fact that the theological thought especially of the Hungarian Reformed Church finds its chief occupation not so much in the study of theoretical problems as rather in the discussion of practical questions of the religious life. As a preacher the Hungarian Protestant minister stood always on the level of his times and every generation had a few preachers who could well be placed alongside the greatest preachers of their days. Undoubtedly one of the most urgent tasks confronting Hungarian scholars lies today in exploring and writing the history of Protestantism in Hungary. This is the case not only from a general point of view, there still being many blank pages in the spiritual history of Hungary, awaiting the historians' research-work, which only Hungarians will be able to do. Present circumstances especially demand increased activity in this direction. At present a hard struggle is being fought for a scientific reconstruction of the history of Hungary's last centuries. Hungarian Protestantism was accustomed to see in the scientific statements concerning the great facts of its own past history at the same time value-judgments revealing its power, the justice of its case and the blessings of its influence. Roman Catholicism therefore would gain a powerful indirect apologetic in a re-written history of the past in which only the shadowy sides of Protestantism would find mention and its immense merits would be passed over in silence. Having recognized their chance, Roman Catholic historians have set themselves with considerable equipment to the carrying out of this task. It becomes therefore an urgent duty to meet them with the weapons of unbiassed scientific historical learning.

Efforts after Union.

Present day universal Christianity is certainly moved, more than by any other ideal, by an aspiration after the unity of Christ's Church. The proportions assumed by the two greatest religious movements of our days, that of „Life and Work" and that of „Faith and Order" are sufficient evidence in themselves. In the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America 47 Protestant Churches have already found their way to a uniting of their forces and every com-

petent person is convinced that the same tendency is bound to gather momentum in every part of the world in the near future. What is the attitude of Hungarian Protestantism in these matters?

In the beginning of its history Hungarian Protestantism soon branched off into a Lutheran and a Reformed section. Both set up their separate organisations and fought out their differences with the desperate zeal characteristic of those days. Differences of nationality complicated and sharpened their doctrinal differences, and differences are always a strong temptation to raise conflicts. On the other hand, both churches found themselves in very much the same position with regard to their difficulties over against the state, so that the best leaders on both sides never ceased to feel and to urge the need of maintaining the closest possible spiritual fellowship with one another.

In the course of the past this mutual approach of the two churches presented itself in three different types. First there was a type of those who demanded an organic union of the churches, both in doctrine and in organisation. This ideal became powerful especially during the XVIIth. and the XIXth. century. In the XVIIth. century, the movement had a strongly marked doctrinal character and was inspired by the hope that a common creed might be found on which the churches could agree. The public mind of the churches was so thoroughly instructed and so highly developed in matters of doctrine that for this very reason many believed that unity could be achieved on the basis of some doctrinal formula if worded with extraordinary carefulness. During the XIXth. century, on the other hand, doctrinal interest was at its lowest vitality in both churches and since theological distinctions had lost all interest in the eyes of this generation it was believed that a union of the churches could be brought about on the basis of common practical ideals, especially in matters of organisation and active service. This idea found one of its greatest propagandists in the person of Louis *Kossuth*. But Hungarian Protestantism soon found out that neither of these roads leads to union, since theological definitions and confessional statements naturally tend to sharpen differences; while, on the other hand, a common organisation and practical life would be wanting in serious vitality if not rooted in common belief. In Germany a powerful external factor, the political one, was able to achieve a union between the two denominations, or rather force it upon them, but wherever such interference from without was absent union was impossible on such lines.

According to another type the right way to follow is to develop as many as possible interdenominational organisations and institutions and thus to unite the vitally active elements of the different churches, leaving these alone in their divided worship and theology. This ideal was very influential during those recent years in which the really active spiritual forces found vent in independent organisations outside of the official pale of the churches. But the last years have led to a critical revision of this whole situation. It has become clear, as already noted, that it is a false policy to leave the histori-

cally developed „official churches" alone as institutions for worship, administration and dotrinal teaching and to draw out from them the forces of evangelism, spiritual fellowship and social service into channels of free, interdenominational groups. On the other hand, as the revival progresses within the churches, arousing them to a consciousnes of their spiritual duties, it becomes increasingly clear that the interdenominational organisations are, as a matter of fact, joint representatives of the forces of the two churches, in which the ideals, the spirit, the energies of these churches themselves find expression, sometimes with a good deal of friction, sometimes concluding compromises and sometimes one party getting the better of the other. As a result questions arise in these organisations as to equal representation, equilibrium in leadership, reciprocity, numerical proportions, etc, as between the denominations, naturally leading to a weakening of their unity and a restraint on their energy.

It becomes thus clear that the real solution of the problem lies in the direction of a third method; namely, in working first for a spiritual renewal of both churches from within, on the basis of their historic confessions, yet on parallel lines; then, in inducing the two churches, reawakened in their historic life, to commission joint representatives for the sake of serving common duties, endowing these bodies with a needed measure of independence. Moreover, the spiritual self-realisation of both churches according to their historic heritage must be balanced continually with an equally increasing acquaintance of one another's special values and with a growing mutual respect and love, so that while remaining two distinct individualities, nevertheless they may become in many respects inseparably one. Every sign witnesses to the great possibilities and hopeful prospects of this third programme of unity. On this basis there seems to be no obstacle to prevent the two churches from maintaining an exemplary fellowship and uniting their forces for the immense interests of Evangelical Catholicity. It goes without saying that much remains yet to be done in this respect and great responsibilities have yet to be shouldered.

Church-Finances.

In the financial organisation of Hungarian Protestantism it is an interesting feature that budgeting capacity is inherent really in the individual local congregations. Every congregation is independent in assessing its own income and expenditure. For the covering of their expenses the congregations have a right to levy taxes upon their members. As long as one belongs to the membership of a congregation, the payment of such taxes is obligatory, and if the church desires so, the civil authorities assist in collecting them. The expenditure of the higher church-courts too, in so far as not covered by endowments possessed by them, is borne by the local congregations. No higher church court imposes any financial burdens upon the church-members directly. This whole system entails the consequence that some congregations carry a rather light burden, while others

suffer under exceedingly heavy contributions. Throughout the centuries there have been such congregations in Hungary the members of which — peasants in most cases — contributed not less than 30% of their total income to purposes of their church. It must be noted that it was among rather poor people, smallholders, that such an extraordinary high standard of giving was maintained.

The financial needs of the Hungarian Protestant Churches and their institutions are, however, not sufficiently covered by such taxation of their members even if augmented by the income of endowments accumulated through the centuries out of generous gifts of the forefathers. Therefore the State came in the last decades to the aid of the Churches with smaller and larger subsidies under various titles in its budget. This is justified, for one thing, by the fact that through maintaining the extended network of their educational institutions these churches are carrying such burdens of public services which would otherwise devolve necessarily upon the State. The legal basis for such State subsidies is found moreover in the fact that the Roman Catholic Church has obtained an immense area of landed endowment from the Kings of Hungary during the thousand years of its history. In exchange for these endowments the high clergy of the Roman Church had to fulfil certain public functions, such as cultural, juridical, administrative and, last but not least, military services. Gradually, their possessions were released from the military duties incumbent upon them. Likewise the juridical and administrative functions devolved, in the course of time, upon special civil authorities set up and financed by the State itself. Today, the enormous wealth in the hands of the Roman Church, relieved of all the burdens of these public functions, can be used entirely for religious and educational purposes; or, in other words, is entirely at the free disposal of the high clergy and the monastic orders. It has been pointed out above already, that it was an ideal of perfect equality and reciprocity with the Roman Church which had inspired the Hungarian Protestant Churches in the past in all their political struggles. This ideal became incorporated in the code of Hungary in the law XX: 1848, one of the fundamental laws of the Hungarian State, declaring that all expenses of the church and school-life of all denominations shall be taken over by the State itself. Accordingly, two ways only were open before Hungary's statesmen, if they wished to remain honest. One would have been, to secularise all church-endowments and to throw the Churches back upon their resources in the voluntary contributions of their members. The other way was to lift the Protestant Churches by means of annual subsidies into a position which approximated at least the semblance of equality and reciprocity with the Roman Catholic Church. As the first alternative, that of a thorough separation between Church and State, has never been attempted in earnest by any prudent Hungarian statesman, since it would have involved disastrous consequences for the social life of the country, the only policy to be followed was to assist the Protestant Churches by constantly increased annual state-grants. This involved a number

of serious consequences. By this system of annual grants, incorporated in the State's budget from one year to the other, obtained and increased at the price of hard struggles every time, the whole of Hungarian Protestantism was brought into a position of dependence over against the governmental powers for the time being. The livelihood of the ministers and teachers of the Churches was made dependent upon the attitude of the actual government. This is not the case with the Roman Church which had obtained long ago in advance her share from the parental heritage of the State in the form of landed endowments. Under such conditions it becomes possible that a minister of the State may claim to figure as a generous patron of the Protestant Churches on the basis of subsidies which it was his bounden legal duty to grant and which, even when granted, remain but a niggardly payment; and in the end he may find to his astonishment that his claim is not allowed. Another difficulty of a more general political nature is this that the Roman Church does not look with equanimity upon the yearly state-subsidies granted to the Protestant Churches and is endeavouring to introduce into the political life of the country the idea that she too would be entitled to such annual grants in proportion to the numbers of her adherents. This dangerous idea is already beginning to meet with some response on the part of political factors, although, undoubtedly, it would mean a first step on a road which would lead sooner or later to disendowment and separation. The finances of the Hungarian State would not bear long the burdens of such competing claims and sooner or later the suggestion would arise with irresistible force that the Gordian knot would best be cut asunder with one stroke.

The financial policies of the Hungarian Protestant Churches may be liable to much criticism in various respects, but one thing is certain: there are few churches in the world which carry such financial burdens in proportion to the financial resources of their members and the total number of their born adherents. It may be suggested, and certainly with much right, that these burdens should rather be borne by the members of these churches in the form of voluntary offerings. It is right to ask whether from the point of view of general national interests the Hungarian Churches should not accustom themselves by degrees to dispense with the State's subsidies. It is very urgent that their financial system be transformed into such a unified and progressive scheme as would eliminate present inequalities. And, as to the expenditure, the Churches should learn that their spiritual and missionary interests are those which would deserve the larger share of the money expended. But even as things stand, the financial sacrifices borne by the Hungarian Protestant Churches for the advancement of God's Kingdom are such as to arouse universal respect.

The foundations of the world are shaking. We seem to be in the midst of a transformation of the social and economic structure of humanity, no matter whether the new order will come in a rapid transition or through slow evolution. It may be a change in which all

values produced by human culture in the past will be consumed. It may also be that a better and happier world will emerge from the chaos. One thing is sure: any solution will be a blessing only in so far as it is inspired by the Spirit of Christ, and every solution will spell disaster in so far as it departs from Him. The advantageous position of Evangelical Catholic Christianity consists in this that neither the old nor the new order as such is satisfactory in its eyes: on the other hand, both the old and the new are acceptable to it, if made subject to the absolute Kingship of Christ. The solution of the present world-crisis therefore, both in idea and in practice, is to be found in the line followed by Protestantism. The great Protestant Churches of the world whose task it is to direct the labour of this solution and on whom rests the responsibility for its success before the judgment seat of God and the tribunal of history, will certainly not be-little the fact that in this part of Europe where the struggle is fiercest and the fires flame highest, there live a handful of Protestants, two faithful Evangelical Churches, who are conscious of their mission and who, pressing to their hearts the „white stone" spoken of in the Book of Revelation, strive to carry out the Lord's Commandment: „Hold that fast which thou hast that no man take thy crown".

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Hungarian Protestantism and the Peace Treaty.

A few words must be added concerning the fact that the expression „Hungarian Protestantism" has a different meaning today, after the Great War, from what it had before the Great War. In bygone times it meant the unit composed of all Protestants living in historic Hungary. Today it refers to Hungarian Protestants living in Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Austria and Hungary. Formerly it designated a historic entity; today it signifies only a linguistic and spiritual link, and even the latter only with certain restrictions.

The Peace Treaty, while reducing the territory of Hungary by 72% and its population by 64%; while handing over to other states a large part of her industrial establishments, almost all the mining districts, 60% of her live stock, and most of those places which were the scenes of the great events of Hungarian history, and in which most precious monuments still proclaim the glories of the past; and while separating three millions of Hungarians from the body of their nation and delivering them into the hands of alien rulers, meant also the breaking up of the historic unity of the Hungarian Protestant Churches. The Unitarian Church came under alien rule practically in her entirety; only a fraction of the Lutheran Church remained for Hungary; and almost half of the Reformed Church too was torn away. Of this latter Church, the Transylvanian church-district was lost as a whole, with its more than 500 congregations, nearly the same number of primary schools, 7 secondary schools, two teacher-training colleges and one theological seminary. These figures involve

more than merely the statistical status of one church-district among the others; they stand for all the traditions and the historical continuity attached to the Transylvanian Principality, that little Hungarian Reformed Commonwealth of the XVIth. and XVIIth. centuries. Besides, also a good third of the Transtisanian church-district was lost with a denominational law-college, 2 teacher-training colleges, 3 secondary schools for boys and 2 for girls and about 300 congregations. The Cistisanian and Transdanubian church-districts too were mutilated, losing territories in the North with a pure Hungarian population; and the Danubian church-district had to give up those parts, in the South, which were a cradle of the Hungarian Reformation.

Delegates of the Presb. Confence in the Park of Balatonfüred around map of dismembered Hungary made of flowers.

These severed parts of the Churches, when passing into the new situation, took with them not only a common confession of faith and a common church-law, but also a common civilisation, the fruit of a thousand years' development, a common rich literature, a common heritage of a four years' spiritual history; in one word the common genius of Hungarian Protestantism. Under the new conditions they became „minorities", face to face with the aggressive, imperialistic nationalism of the new states. It was quite natural that grave difficulties and painful frictions should arise out of this situation, the more so as, for a thousand and one reasons, spirits were embittered and inflamed with feelings the intensity of which could scarcely be surpassed. These matters shall not be discussed here. Let the Hungarian Protestant minorities of the Succession-States speak for themselves, — if they are free to speak. Or even better, let their brethren in other lands go and visit them, and see for themselves on the spot.

Let it suffice here to state the conviction that such dismemberment of Hungary was more than a crime, it was a blunder. The Peace-Treaty was dictated by the same evil feelings which ran high in the Great War. Its aim was revenge, not reconciliation. The conclusion of real peace is still ahead of us. The present is but a state of armistice, a continuation of warfare with silent, but more formidable methods. „Peace" as concluded after the Great War has branded the souls of ten million Hungarians with the gaping wound of a hideous injustice. It has incorporated outraged minorities in a number of states, and it has condemned a thousand years' old nation, which may have committed great mistakes and certainly has erred more than once against the principles of justice, to be cut to pieces on the table of the peace-conference and to be thrown on the wayside, like helpless Lazarus. What purpose lay behind this treatment and what kind of justice was intended to be dealt out in this way, is a mystery to the writer and to every single Hungarian. But one thing the Hungarian people know for certain: God must have some purpose even with this Peace-Treaty of the Trianon, and therefore they bear witness, again and again, to the old truth: „All things work together for good to them that love God". Laying aside the thoughts of warfare and of violence, they put their trust in justice alone. And daily rises as a song in their soul the verse of the Psalmist, — „He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him". (Ps. 126.)

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CORRIGENDA.

Page	3	line	4	from top	read	*Flacianism*	instead of	*Flaccianism.*
„	3	„	10	from foot	„	*later to*	„ „	*rather than to.*
„	25	„	16	„ „	„	*simus*	„ „	*scimus.*
„	26	„	14	from top	„	*XVIIth*	„ „	*XVIth.*
„	39	„	12	„ „	„	*Arminians*	„ „	*Armenians.*
„	45	„	9, 11	„ „	„	*Bayly*	„ „	*Bayley.*
„	46	„	6	„ „	„	*Transdanubian*	„	*Transylvanian.*
„	46	„	10	„ „	„	*Torkos*	„ „	*Tokos.*
„	47	„	21	from foot	„	*1786*	„ „	*1756.*
„	49	„	7	„ „	„	*and*	„ „	*und.*
„	52	„	1	from top	„	*Pázmány*	„ „	*Pármány.*
„	56	„	17	from foot	„	*Lokkum*	„ „	*Lokham.*
„	59	„	23	„ „	„	*Lukaris*	„ „	*Lukarius.*
„	62	„	16	from top	„	*Wimmer*	„ „	*Wimmern.*
„	75	„	2	from foot	„	*has*	„ „	*have.*
„	190	„	2	from end	„	*struggling*	„ „	*straggling.*

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